# MILITARY ORGANISATION UNDER SHAHJAHAN

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# ABSTRACT

The history of the Mughal armies is full of glory and fame. Under Babur, they over ran the whole of northern India and demonstrated their supremacy over those of the Rajputs and the Afghans.

According to our investigation and sources, Shahjahan followed same military system which was prevailing under Mughals. The military administrative system of Shahjahan maintained its vigour and vitality in its outward appearance, the campaigns in Balkh, Badakhasha, Qandahar and Deccan.

A general paucity in contemporary accounts of vital details tends to hinder the study of Shahjahan's Strategy and tactics. The sources remain destitute of intimate details as battle formations, development of charge, topography, positioning of armies, numerical break up of wings and the like.

Inspite of great expansion in fire-arms, decision of battles were forced by superior cavalry deployment. For this the Mughals faithfully followed the principles set out by Timur, in his 'Institutes'. That these 'Institutes' remained valid even three hundred years after their author has been possible due mainly to the fact that Mughal technology moved with a very slow pace. It never reached a point of perfection where it could substitute the cavalry.

Shahjahan's army had certain good points, there was *mansabdari* system. It fixed the position of every military leader in the official hierarchy. Recruitment in the ranks directly made by the Emperor created a feeling of devotion among the officers for their sovereign. The same spirit of nationality prevailed in the regiments of the army. Each officer had to bring a mixed contingent consisting of the Rajputs, Mughals and others.

Besides this, Shahjahan's policy of dividing the army in five department, Cavalry, Artillery, Infantry, Elephantry and Navy enhanced efficiency of military organisation.

The rule of Mughals began in the 16$^{th}$ Century and reached its zenith under Shahjahan. Hitherto, Shahjahan enjoyed the sole reputation of the 'great architect,' but his contribution in the army organization have not yet been explored. Thus an

attempt has been made in this present dissertation to highlight the unexplored features of the "**Military Organisation under Shahjahan**".

Pioneer of the military history William Irvin published his work ***"The Army of the Indian Mughals"*** in 1903 and, thus explored the history of the army organization under the Mughals. William Irvin's work has later been substantiated by Abdul Aziz in 1942 when he published his work on ***"Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army".*** However, Abdul Aziz has basically dealt with the *Mansabdari* System, thus his account failed to shed much light upon the organization of the Mughal army which had already been dealt in detail by William Irvine. Sir Jadunath Sarkar's work ***"Military history of India"*** published in 1960 is also valuable to know the military history of India. In general, but in between, many rare manuscripts related to the Mughals came into light which have ably been tapped by Raj Kumar Phul in his work ***"Armies of the Great Mughals (1526-1707)"***. Raj Kumar Phul published his work in 1978 which shed new light on different aspects of the military system under the Mughals.. The valuable aspect of the military, i.e., artillery has been dealt in detail by M.K.Zaman in his work ***"Mughal Artillery"*** in 1982. Undoubtedly all the supra mentioned works have explored almost all aspects of military system under the Mughals, as a whole, which extended a macro history of the Mughals's army. However, to highlight the continuity and changes in the army organization under the Mughals a micro history of the single Emperor was needed, thus the importance of the present dissertation in which an attempt has been made to explore every aspects of military organization under the Mughal ruler Shahjahan( r-1628-1658A.D).

However, a sincere attempt has been made to delineate every information available in the sources. The first extant official historian of ShahaJahan's reign was Mirza Aminai Qazvini's ***Padshahnama***. This work has been written in graceful language and it is typical of the pure Persian style of that period. In fact the account of the rebellions are very meager, and the author attempts to explain this period of trouble on superstitious grounds, comprising the history of the first ten years of Shahjahan's reign. Another ***Padshahnama*** of the same type as that of Qazvini was compiled by Jalaluddin Tabatabi. The extant portion covers only four years of Shahjahan's reign, from 1633-1637 A.D. From the historical point of view, his work is of no material importance, because it is merely a reproduction of the events described by his predecessor.

The other source of importance is Lahori's ***Badshahnama*** which covers the first twenty years of Shahjahan's reign and furnished detail information of rebellions during Shahjahan's reign. Lahori was prevented from continuing work by old age,, so it was entrusted to one of his pupils, Mohammad Waris, who completed the last portion of ***Badshahnama***. It gives the history of last ten years of Shahjahan's reign. After Mohammad Waris we have different genre of sources in form accounts of certain officers who were closely connected with the court. The first and the most important work of this type is the ***Shahjahanama*** of Mohammad Sadiq

Another primary source for the history of the military Organization under Shahjahan is **ShahjahanNama** of Inayat Khan which covers thirty years of Shahjahan's reign. This work has further been corroborated by Mohammad Salih Kanbu's ***Shahjahanama*** which is a detailed history of Shahjahan's reign.

The opulent collection of Persian records preserved in the state Archives, Andhra Pradesh stretches over a period of about five centuries and covers a territorial range of almost the entire Deccan. The Mughal Archives in Deccan mainly pertain to the reigns of Shahjahan( 1628-1658 A.D) which shed much light on military system.

The present study aims to investigate the military strategy and tactics in wars, recruitments to the armies, its organization and discipline, military training, division of the army like Artillery, Infantry, Weapons etc, defense Equipment, Salaries of the officers and soldiers, military camps etc during the period of Shahjahan. However, the present dissertation has been divided into six chapters:

The first chapter entitled **Shahjahan's Campaigns**, deals with many major and minor campaigns, with special attention in motives of the conquests. It further explains tactics and strategy utilized to capture these places.

The second chapter dealing with **Rebellions: Causes and Suppression,** includes a general discussion on what were the reason and consequences of rebellions. The four major and many minor rebellions occurred in the reign of Shahjahan.

The third chapter, **Methods of Warfare: Strategy and Tactics**, contains details about recruitment, organization, discipline, and other methods of military training , strategy and tactics of war, diplomatic missions, battle order, organization of camps consisting of three parts like the royal apartments, establishment of military

aristocracy and residential quarters of the common, soldiers and non combatants people serving in the army.

In the fourth chapter, **Forts: Location and Siege craft** deals with locations of the forts and their administration, strategy and tactics employed in their sieges. Many forts were sieged in the different regions i.e., Malwa, Deccan, Orissa etc.

In the fifth chapter, **Army Organization under Shahjahan** deals with administration of the army, central and provincial administration and different part of the army like Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery and navy have been discussed in full perspective. This chapter also contains salaries of the officers and soldiers, as well as strength of the army.

Finally the last chapter, **Arms and Armours** deals with the defensive and offensive weapons. It also includes information related to dresses, honours, and distinctions received by the officers and soldiers etc.

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# INTRODUCTION

With the advent of Babur, the rule of Mughals began in the 16th Century and reached its zenith under Shahjahan. Hitherto, Shahjahan enjoyed the sole reputation of the 'great architect,' but his contribution in the army organization have not yet been explored. Thus an attempt has been made in this present dissertation to highlight the unexplored features of the "**Military Organisation under Shahjahan**".

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In the fourth chapter, **Forts: Location and Siege craft** deals with locations of the forts and their administration, strategy and tactics employed in their sieges. Many forts were sieged in the different regions i.e., Malwa, Deccan, Orissa etc.

In the fifth chapter, **Army Organization under Shahjahan** deals with administration of the army, central and provincial administration and different part of the army like Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery and navy have been discussed in full perspective. This chapter also contains salaries of the officers and soldiers, as well as strength of the army.

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## Chapter -1

# SHAHJAHAN'S INDIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN CAMPAIGNS

Shahjahan ascended the throne in 1628 and followed his expansionist policy. Being a rebellious son of his father Jahangir, he had a great deal of military experience which he displayed in his various expeditions, especially against Deccan in southern Indian and against Qandahar and Balkh in Afghanistan and Central Asia respectively.

**Qandahar Campaigns-**

Qandahar was the biggest fortress city of Afghanistan. In the case of Persia, though the *Chaghtai* sovereign gave expression to feelings of amity and goodwill, and though this attitude was reciprocated by the Safavid monarchs, there is sufficient evidence to show that they were jealous and distrustful of each other. The court of Persia, on its part, so far as possible never recognized the high sounding tittles of the Indian rulers, and displayed, as it were a patronizing attitude towards them.[1] In the contemporary correspondence they repeatedly refer to the help which Shah Ismail gave to Babur, and the protection which Shah Tahmasp extended to Humayun. In contrast to this, the Mughal Emperors regarded themselves as superior to the Shah, because the extent of their territories was larger, and by reputation their wealth was greater.[2] The amicable relations between the Safavids and *Chaghtai* houses were occasionally disturbed by contest for the possession of Qandahar, during the time of Babur, Shah Ismail was the ruler of Persia, he covered Qandahar but Babur seized it.[3] Tahmasp occupied it during the troublesome period following the death of Humayun, but Akbar recovered it[4]. When Shah Abbas I, ascended the throne, he tried to win it back and suddenly attacked and captured the Qandahar in 1622 A.D. Shahjahan was asked to guard the fort against the Persians, but he refused to move owing to a serious misunderstandings caused by Nurjahan's intrigues. Since then it had been in the hands of the Persians.[5]

The Persian occupation of Qandahar towards the close of Jahangir's reign had led to a break down of relations between the two Empires. In the fifteenth year of the reign of

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1 B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, Central Book Depot, Allahabad, 1976, p.210
2 Ibid.
3 Rushbrook Williams, *An Empire Builder of the Sixteen Century*,pp.117-119
4 Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Moghuls*, S.Chand & Co., Delhi,1958,p.258
5 "*India Under Shahjahan*" ed. Raj Kumar, Anmol Publications, New Delhi, 2000, p. 32

Jahangir, Prince Shahjahan was sent to arrange affairs of the Deccan.[6] Shahjahan invested it and after a siege of forty five days reduced the fortress in the seventeenth regnal year of Jahangir.[7] After seized the fortress of Qandahar, Ali Mardan Khan was appointed governor of Qandahar. But all the country of Qandahar with its fortress was re- annexed to the imperial dominions.[8] Shahjahan restored relations but did not give up his intention of recovering Qandahar, particularly because of the opportunity created by the unrest in Persia after the death of Shah Abbas[9].

Anti Persian powers in Central Asia and the ottoman Turks tried to enlist Mughal support for an anti-Persian league but Shahjahan preferred to persist with the traditional policy of keeping his options open with both sides.[10] Qandahar problem was stiff pinching to Shahjahan.

His interest required that he regain Qandahar which was vital for the security of the Sindh border; pressure from central Asia would be needed to neutralize Persian reaction. At the same time he intended to fulfill the dream of acquiring the ancestral Mughal homeland in trans-oxiana, an undertaking which required Persian cooperation. His early efforts were directed as recovering Qandahar by diplomatic means so that he could conserve his strength for the recovery of the ancestral lands of the Mughals. It was only after he realized that Persia would not give up Qandahar, that he openly approached the anti-Persian powers for an alliance.[11]

Fourth year (1631A.D) of the Shahjahan's reign, Nasiri Khan was appointed with a number of his majesty's servants to conquer the territory of Telingana.[12] He resolved upon reducing the fort of Qandahar (about 75 miles east of Dharur and 25 south-west of Nander).[13]

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[6] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri***,** vol.II, ed. Syed Ahmad Khan, Aligarh, 1846, p.24

[7] Ibid.

[8] Mohammad Amin bin Abul Hussain Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-A,B.M. MS.No.or.173;Rieu i/248b,1963; Rotograph Seminar Library, M.U,Aligarh,f.102a

[9] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*,Part-A,f.103b

[10] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, op.cit., p.211

[11] Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India*,New Delhi, 2003, p.545

[12] Lahori, *Badshah Nama***,** vol.I, part-I, ed. Mawlavis Kabir Al-Din Ahmad and Abd- Al-Rahim, p.374,tr. Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqui, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-dehli, 2011, p.10; Amal-i-Salih Kambu, *Shahjahanama*, vol. II, Narsingh Das Garden Club Road, Lahore, 1939, p.206; Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Oxford University press, Delhi:,1990, p.65; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.237b, Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, ed. Maulvi Kabir Al-din Ahmad, Part-I, College Press, Calcutta,1869,p.446

[13] Amal-i-Salih Kambu, *Shahjahanama*, vol.II, p.206; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.237b

He first turn his attention to the reduction of Qandahar, one of its most famous strongholds and remarkable for its vast strength, which was then under the protection of Sadiq, son-in-law of Yaqut Khudawand Khan,[14] and was in full state of preparation.

On the 23rd *Jumada-i- awwal*[15], Sadiq Khan encamped after marching Thither and arriving with his comrades, one *kos* from the Qandahar fortress. Next day, Sadiq Khan prepared to attack the town of Qandahar, but before reaching the place, he was opposed by Sarfaraz Khan, the commander-in-chief of that kingdom, who had draw up his forces in the plain between the town and citadels, covered his front with artillery and was standing ready for action. He was protected by guns and muskets of the fortress. The royal army attacked with great vigor, and killed a great many of the enemy. Sarfaraz Khan with a few followers escaped to Nizam-ul-Mulk's army, and the victors were left in undisputed ownership of the town- 500 horses, 100 camels, and a vast amount of property, falling into the hands of the royalists.[16]

Samander Khan, who was in charge of the place, was killed with 200 of his men; while not less than 5000 or 6000 of both sides were taken prisoners, all of whom Nasiri Khan released the same night out of gratitude for his victory.[17] Nasiri Khan then turned his attention to making preparation for the siege after the capture of the town and the defeat of the forces outside the fort.[18]

After coming from the trenches, the royalists commenced pushing forward the underground passages, and driving mine tunnels. After some days, when the approached from Nasiri Khan's trench has been carried up to the crest of the glacis, the ditch was soon cleared of party that had been lurking there under cover of the counterscarp. Some of the enemy encamped, and the rest having perished under the heavy matchlock fire, the besiegers pushed forward their trenches and gained a firm footing.[19] In the middle of the ditch, which was about 50 cubits wide, there stood a tomb structure which was occupied by a party of the rebels who annoyed the troops in the trenches by constant discharges of rockets, grenades and matchlocks. Nasiri Khan

[14] Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p. 446
[15] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.239b
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Mohd. Saleh Kambu, *Shahjahanama*, vol.II, Lahore, 1959, p.206; urdu tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, *Shahjahanama*, New Delhi, 2008, p.313
[19] Inayat Khan, p.66

therefore drove a mine from his trench under this edifice and set it off; where upon the whole structure was blown up from its very foundations and about 200 of the doomed wretches who were inside, perished in the explosion after this, the royalists raised an entrenchment on the site of the building and occupied it.[20]

Randaula, Mukarrab Khan with others Adil Khanis and Nizam Shahis, camp up to attack in Nasiri Khan's trenches, undismayed by this fresh enemy, he boldly faced his assailants; and although he had also to bear the fire of the guns and muskets of the fortress, he defeated them with considerate loss, and completed them to fall back a distance of three *kos*.[21] Reassured and encouraged by this splendid triumph, Nasiri Khan prosecuted the siege with redoubled ardor; and out of 21 mines in all that he had completed. He charged three with gunpowder and held three others in reserve which he could charge and explode at pleasure. At this time, as Azam Khan had marched to his assistance and arrived in the vicinity of Qandahar, Nasiri Khan brought him into his own trenches to view the spectacle of the demolition of the fort and the assault of the gallant troops.[22]

His mines were accordingly charged and sprung in his presence, one of which failed to ignite but the other two exploded and demolished the wall of the Sher haji defenses and half a large bastion, thus blowing all the unfortunate bystanders into the air. Nasiri Khan with his comrades then rushed forward on foot to force an entrance into the fort; and from midday to sun set, the fight raged furiously on both sides.[23]But the wall of the fortress was not sufficiently leveled, and the defenders kept up such a heavy fire that the assailants were forced to retire. At night the trenches were carried forward, and preparations were made for firing the other mines.[24]

The garrison now sensed clearly that they must soon be overpowered; and since the trench opposite the gateway, which was under Raja Bharat Bundela's direction, they sued for quarter through him.

Nasiri Khan consented and sent the Raja with the requisite pardon to the gateway. Whereupon the Governor and seven others of the garrison had an interview with him

[20] Ibid.
[21] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I, p. 374; Elliot &Dowson, op.cit., p.27
[22] Ibid.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

and opened the gate. He then next day with his comrades and presented ten elephants to the khan, who treated him with great unbanity and then proceeded in company with Azam khan and other chief to the fort.[25] There they found 115 guns of various calibers together with other ammunitions of war, which were all appropriated. Thus after a siege of four and half months, was this fort captured, in the middle of Shawwal of this happy opened year 1040A.H (mid May 1631A.D).[26]As soon as Nizam-ul-Mulk and Adil Khanis gained intelligence of the fall of the fort, they marched away grievously disappointed to a distance of 20 *kos* from the royal army. Azam Khan now had no object in staying at Qandahar, and was also apprehensive of the enemy's attacking the treasure escort that have been sent from court and had just reached Payinghat.[27]

As soon as Nasiri Khan had arranged about putting the fort in a satisfactory state of defense and fortifying the lintels and outlets, he moved forward Bodan and Indore.[28]

In 1639 A.D, setting out of Ali Mardan Khan from Qandahar and his passage through Kabul on the way to Kabul. Ali Mardan Khan accordance with instructions in the imperial *Farman*, came out of the fortress with his dependent shortly after Qilij Khan had arrived in the vicinity, and proceeded to encamp outside the city in readiness to start for Kabul. To accompany him, Said Khan deputed hid eldest son Khan Azad Khan and Iwaz Khan, governor of Ghazni, along with 2000 of the letter's men, directing that the governor should turn back from Muqur but that Khan Azad Khan should proceed all the way to Kabul.[29]

When he had arrived at Kabul, Ali Mardan Khan waited upon Prince Muhammad Shah Shuja; who should him every respect and attention and dismissed him on his way to court with his highest marks of honour.[30]

**Account of the capture of forts Zamindawar, Bist and others in the territory of Qandahar-**

In short, as the water of the Helmand were receding and the spring (*Rabi*) crops had already matured, Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung thought to himself, that if he differed

[25] Inayat Khan, p.67
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Inayat Khan, p.227
[30] Ibid.

reducing forts Bist and Zamindawar till the arrival of reinforcements, the Qizilbashis would transport all the grain into their strongholds.[31]

As a result the royal troops would suffer great inconvenience from carrying on military operations in a country devoid of cultivation and deficient in forage, as well as from the scarcity of provisions at Qandahar itself, which were even now mostly consumed.[32]He therefore determined to seize all this grain and thereby cause great consternation among the enemy garrisons. In pursuance of this scheme, he appointed Raja Jagat Singh and some other nobles and *mansabdars* to this duty, placing them at the head of a force comprised of most of the Kabul troops, all the Qandahar Zamindars, a number of his own followers and those of Qilij Khan, and also the *ahadis* and all the necessary artillery and siege implements.[33]

Said Khan himself stayed behind at Qandahar along with the rest of the army. Subsequently, he also sent off the governors of Bhakkar and Siwistan to overtake and accompany this expedition, as they had arrived after the Raja's departure.[34]On reaching Khush Nakhud, the royalists learned that the Qizilbashis were themselves intent on reaping the corn and clearing off all the standing crops from the surrounding districts, which then planned to convey into the forts.[35]

By mutual agreement, Purdil Khan, Izzat Khan and Shad Khan along with various *mansabdars*, Said Khan Bahadur's own men and some *ahadis* proceeded to march towards fort Bist. Meanwhile Raja Jagat Singh, along with Yusuf Muhammad Khan, Awaz Khan, Jan Nisar Khan and the main army marched upon Zamindawar.[36]

On this way to this fort, Raja Jagat Singh sent about 1000 horse and 2000 foot out of his own Rajputs and the men of Qilij Khan invades hastily upon the head of the camels of the fort.

The garrison immediately opened a heavy matchlock fire, but the royalists were resolutely bent on capturing it and the battle was hastily contested from that time till

[31] Inayat Khan, p.228; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.24; Lahori, *Padshahnama*, tr. Dr. Hamid Afaq Siddiqui, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-delli, 2011, p.10; Amal-i- salih Kanbu, Shahjahanama, vol.II, op.cit., p. 206; urdu tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, New Delhi, 2008, p.312
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Ibid.

midday. The brave Rajputs, who never hesitate in taking and giving lives for, cause, rushed forward, and though they lost some of their number in the assault, they succeeded in setting fire to the gate and forcing open an entrance.[37]

Raja Jagat Singh and his comrades entered into the fort and praised he bravery of those who had assaulted the fort. About 30 were killed and some were injured and a lot of their horses were rendered useless fort, the action with the wounds caused by the muskets so the Raja sent back the horses and the belongings with this following. In the meantime, they got informed that a following from Zamindawar, had reached for the help of the guards of the camels. The Raja raided them along with the following under his command, killed some and the rest fled.[38]

Thus after a siege of twenty days, the governor and his comrades quitted for Zamindawar and came over to the servants of the crown. Accompanied by his associates, Qilij Khan the next day went to inspect the defenses and left one of his principal officers to Garrison the place along with 500 matchlockmen and archers. After satisfying himself that the thorough fares of the fort in question were properly secured, as well as the outworks attached to it, he turned then his attention to the capture of fort Bist.[39]

During the course of the siege of the fort of Bist, it was learnt from the inhabitants of that place. Qilij Khan satisfied and assured the armies of Mulki, Bakhtari and Dalkhaki, which were the dependencies of these two strong forts and comprised about 500 horse, with assuring words and summoned them in his presence and, making them to put on robes of honor.[40]

Qilij Khan left the guarding of Bist and its dependencies and Girashk to one of his loyal servants and posted 500 musketeers and archers with him and returned back to Qandahar along with his followers on 7th September, 1638 A.D.[41]

In short, the royalist immediately engaged themselves in boring mine and pushing forward the lines of attack, and never desisted one moment from their toils.[42]

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[37] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.228-229
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.61
[41] Ibid., p. 63
[42] Inayat Khan, p. 230

Moreover the garrison, by hurling down stones and constantly discharging matchlocks and all sorts of artillery, gave them no opportunity of storming. Finally, however, one mine was successfully run under the wall from Qilij Khan's trench and another from the trench of Yusuf Muhammad Khan and Jan Nisar Khan.[43] The second trench was discovered by the besieged but Qilij Khan was charged with powder and being fired answered admirable and made a capacious opening.[44]

Thus the whole territory of Qandahar with its 60 forts was now completely subjugated. After putting the forts Bist and Girishk with their dependencies in a satisfactory state of defense, Qilij Khan delivered them over to care of one his principal servants; and after leaving 500 matchlockmen and archers to garrison them, he himself returned to Qandahar along with his comrades.[45]

**Dara Shikoh's Campaign to Qandahar in 1642 A.D**

The ruler of Iran sent Rustam Khan Garji, his *Sipahsalar,* to conquer Qandahar with a large army and ordered him to stay in Naishapur till he reached there, when the news continuously reached from the applications of Safdar Khan, *Subehdar* of Qandahar, and Aziz Allah Khan, keeper of the Bist to the Emperor, it was ordered that the army should be moved.[46] Therefore in a chosen moment , His Majesty, the Safeguard of Empire and the Shadow of God, appointed His royal Highness Prince Dara Shikoh, the heir apparent , the repel the menaced invasion with 50,000 dauntless cavalry, several enormous elephants , an efficient bank of artillery, and abundant treasure.[47] On this taking leave, the Prince was awarded a handsome robe of honor and vest embroidered in gold and fringed with pearls; a jeweled turban ornaments of costly description; a sword and dagger bejeweled studded with gems. 200 horses, out of which, two were from the royal stable, one with bejeweled saddle and the other enameled golden saddle, an elephant from the royal stable with silver accoutrements and hangings of velvet and brocade and a she elephant and a reward of 12 lac rupees in cash. His highness *mansab* was increased by 5000 *sawar*, raising it, 20,000 *zat* and *sawar* and on 7th April (1642AD), rendered advices to him and at an auspicious to 20,000 *zat* times the *Fatiha* for victory and triumph was recited, warmly embraced

[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid. p. 232
[46] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.292
[47] Ibid.

and permitted to depart.[48] Of all the grandees and dignitaries of the Empire, as well as the nobles and *mansabdars* , whoever was dismissed to serve under his royal highness was loaded with favors and benefits to a most lavish degree, in promotion to his rank and dignity i.e., Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Raja Jaswant Singh, and Raja Jai Singh and some other servants of the court.[49] It was ordered that to all the nobles and *mansabdars* of this triumphant army no matter whether they were *Jagirdars* or those who received the stipends in cash for every 100 *sawar* according to their several grades, a subsidy of 10,000 rupees in excess of the pay of the *mansabs* should be disbursed from the state treasury and to the infantry, *ahadis*, artillery rockets and matchlock men, three months pay in advance should be granted.[50]

On the same day, *Padshahzadah* Murad Bakhsh too got a special robe of honor with *nadir*, bejeweled *Jamdhar* with *phool* katarah, bejeweled sword, two horses from the royal stable with enameled golden saddle and simple golden saddle, an elephant from the royal stable with golden accoutrements and hangings of velvet and brocade and a she elephant and Mirza Hasan Safavi and some other servants were made to accompany him and permitted to depart and settled that they should encamp on this side of the river Nilab wherever they deemed fit and reach to the brother at the time of the battle. And a *farman* was issued to Ali Mardan Khan, that he should be ready for the battle with all strength, so that Uzbeks should commit any aggression, he might be able to render service.[51] By a lucky chance, after his Royal Highness Prince Dara Shikoh, the heir apparent had crossed the river Nilab, intelligence of Shah Safi's death arrived. And as soon as the circumstances was reported at the fort of throne in a letter from that Prince, an order was issued for him to advance with the utmost vigilance and circumspection to Ghani and stay there for a short time.[52]

The prince sent an *Arzdasht* to the Emperor to Conquer the Vilayat Farah, Seistan and Heart with the help of the 30,000 forces available to him but the Emperor considered it beyond the kingly generosity and liberality to do so when he had been succeeded by a minor so he ordered for the recall of the forces from Qandahar and the returning back of the prince to the court. He did the same and recalled Khan-i-Dauran Bahadur

[48] Ibid., p.293
[49] Inayat Khan, p.294
[50] Ibid.
[51] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.295
[52] Ibid.

Nusrat Jung with 20,000 forces from Qandahar and Saeed Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang with 10,000 horses, who had by then reached till fort Bist.[53]

**Loss of Qandahar**

In 1638 A.D, Ali Mardan Khan, the Persian Governor, had surrendered Qandahar into Mughal hands. But the Persians had never abandoned the hope of regaining it. Shah Abbas II who had come to the throne in 1642 made vigorous efforts to collect men and money for the recapture Qandahar which was a valuable possession from the commercial and strategic point of view.[54] Steps were taken to store up grain at Farah, Sistan and other important centers and detachment was sent to Herat to interrupt the communications on that side. As the winter was approaching, the Shah himself intended to proceed towards the city. Knowing full well that the fall of snow would make it impossible for reinforcement to come from India. When Shahjahan heard of these preparations, he took counsel with his nobles on the subject and they advised him to postpone the campaign until the winter was over. Shahjahan accepted their advice and the result was that the forces of the Shah, careless of the rigour of winter marched against the fort. The Mughal Garrison fought with desperate courage for 57 days but when they saw that no relief was coming from India they capitulated on February 11, 1649.[55]

**First Siege of Qandahar 1649 A.D-**

June 26$^{th}$ 1649A.D, when Shahjahan received Information that Shah of Iran captured the fort of Qandahar after received the news of captured fort by Shah of Iran. Shahjahan started preparing army against Shah of Iran.[56] Mughals begins extensive preparation to recapture Qandahar. Aurangzeb was appointed to command the expeditionary force. Several generals were deputed to assist him, among there were Sadullah Khan, Bahadur Khan, Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Rustam Singh, Qilij Khan, and Raja Baithal Das. Each *Mansabdar* was required to provide 1/5$^{th}$ of the strength indicated by his *Sawar* rank. Thus *Mansabdars* were required to bring 50,000 horses

[53] Inayat Khan,p.294
[54] Raj Kumar, *India Under ShahJahn*, op.cit., p.42; Guru Charan Singh , *A Military History of Medieval India*, p. 545
[55] Ibid.
[56] Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, ed. Ghulam Yazdani,vol. III,Calcutta,1939, p.70; tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, op.cit., p.456; Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanama*, p. 418; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.689

to the field. Another 10,000 foot including musketeers, rocket men, and gunners were to accompany the expedition[57].

It was also ruled that nobles and *Mansabdars* would be paid additional rupees one hundred for each horseman. Those were drawing pecuniary stipends would be advanced three months pay.[58]*Ahadis* and musketeers who numbered 5000 horse were given three months advance of pay for expenses during the campaign. This force was to be joined by a force already in Kabul. The entire force was to assemble at Kabul and then proceed to Qandahar via Ghazni. The move to Kabul was to take place via Bangash-i-Bala and Bangash-i-Payin.[59]

The army under Sadullah Khan numbering 50,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry including musketeers, Gunners, bombardiers and rocket men crossed the Sindhu. Auangzeb went from Multan to join the army. They learnt at Kohat that the snow along the Kohistan route was too deep to permit passage for another month. The army decided to take the Khyber route. The force reached Qandahar, the fort was reconnoitered and Aurangzeb established his headquarters about two kilometers from the Kabul.[60]

June 4th, while the Prince was busy with the siege of Qandahar, he ordered to Qilij Khan with 1000 soldiers to plunder the neighbor districts of Qandahar i.e. Bist.[61] Prince consulted with his nobles that he decided to postponed this campaign but he received the information that Qilij Khan successfully seized the standing crops round Bist and raided Khunshi in Sistan with the help of Tahir Khan. He then dispatched Qibad Khan and Allah Quli Khan to sack Zamindawar; but when these commanders were returning laden with booty they were attacked by Persians. The defeat of his men led Qilij Khan to retreat Kushak Nakhud whence he fell back to Sang Bala Hisar, 24 miles south-west of Qandahar.[62]

The first sign of the approaching Persian host was given when a party of about 2000 men advanced to within four miles of Prince Aurangzeb camp, and lifted a large

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[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.421; B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.227; Guru Charan Singh Siddhu, op.cit., p.545
[60] Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* part-I, p.689; B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.227; Guru Charan Singh Siddhu, p.545
[61] Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, vol.III, p.82; Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.423; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.690; B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.227
[62] Ibid.

number of cattle. They were however, pursued and compelled to abandon their booty. The Prince in consultation with Sadullah Khan, dispatched Rustam Khan to succor Qilij Khan whom he joined at Bala Hisar on August 25th. From this place spies were dispatched to obtain intelligence regarding the movements of the Persians. The Mughal army now encamped midway between Bala Hisar and Murtaza Quli, the Persian commander, arrived within striking distance[63]. The contest began with indecisive skirmish between the scouts of the rival parties. The Mughals fell back and took up their position at Shah Mir on the Arghandab, and when they sighted the Persian army. Rustam Khan arranged his men in the battle array. Behind his long line of artillery was the advance guard led by Nazar Bahadur and Rao Satrsal.[64]

The right center under Rustam Khan, and the left Center under Qilij Khan formed the second line, the two ends of which were protected by the right flank under Sardar Khan and the left flank under Shad Khan. The enemy arranged their troops in the similar manner, and the commander-in-Chief Murtaza Quli Khan who arrived the same morning, vowed that he would not break his fast till he had defeated the Indian army.[65]

The Shah Mir opened with a heavy discharge of fire from either side. While the fighting was going on along the front line, the Persians wheeled round and pressed on the flanks and rear of the Mughals. Qilij Khan and Shad Khan stood invincible against their attack, but Sardar Khan gave way, Rustam Khan his part well, and attacked the center of the Persian army, and killed a large number of men[66] and after a contested struggle repulsed the charging hosts. The Persians offensive was broken, and they retreated under cover of night. Some of their guns and matchlocks which they abandoned on the field were seized by the victorious Mughals.[67]

This victory was the only relieving features in the first Qandahar campaign, but it in no way improved the chances of ultimate success. After a futile siege of three months and 20 days, Aurangzeb was ordered by Shahjahan to withdraw from Qandahar. The departure of the Prince was accelerated by the approach of winter and the news that of

[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.
[66] Ibid.
[67] B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.228; Guru Charan Singh Siddhu, p.545

a force20, 000 strong was coming from Persia to the relief of the beleaguered garrison at Qandahar.[68]

**Second Siege of Qandahar 1652**

Prince Aurangzeb was mortified by the defeat which he had sustained at the hands of the Persians. The prestige of the Empire had fallen low and the Prince must needs exert himself to the utmost retrieve his reputation which was seriously damaged by the first siege.[69]

As early as August of the previous year, Shahjahan while returning from Kashmir issued orders to his officers to assemble for the projected campaign.

As on the previous occasion, so now, the campaign was led by Prince Aurangzeb and Sadullah Khan who were ordered to open the siege on May 2, 1652.[70] Counting the troops already stationed in Kabul, an army of 50,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry including musketeers, gunners, bombardiers and rocketmen had been assembled for the purpose of conquering the country and fortresses of Qandahar, Bist and Zamindawar.[71] Allami's force was further accompanied by 10 large and ferocious war elephants; eight heavy and twenty light cannon, 30 *Shutranal*, the later of which carried shot weighing two or two and one half (4-5 Ibs) and were employed by the advance forces; and twenty elephants caring *hathnal* guns and 100 camels besides well replenished treasury and other suitable equipment. He was instructed to proceed to Qandahar by way of Kabul and Ghazni ; and about 3000 camels were employed in the transport of artillery stores such as lead, gunpowder and iron shot.[72]

At the time of their taking leave, "Allami Sad Allah Khan and the other commanders, as well as all the nobles, were gratified and delighted receiving various marks of His Majesty's unbounded favour, in proportion to their several degrees.[73]Amongst other kindness shown to Allami, the Emperor at this time made him a present of the horse which the Qaisar of Rum had sent caparisoned with jeweled saddle. Of the

[68] Ibid.
[69] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.463; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* part-I, p.711
[70] Ibid.
[71] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* pp.463-464
[72] Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* part-I, p.711
[73] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,*p.464

*mansabdars* up to the grade of 500, some were favored with robes of honor and increased *mansabs*, and others with gifts of Horses.[74]

During this campaign, the total strength of the victorious forces according to the rule requiring each chief to bring one fourth of his tally of fighting men into the field, would have been one lac of horsemen. Of these 20,000 would have followed in the train of the victorious Prince Aurangzeb; 50,000 in that of 'Allami Sad Allah Khan; and 30,000 in the auspicious suite.

But by the regulation of one fifth, which His Majesty had introduced for the greater convenience of the nobles and *Mansabdars* during the campaign of Balkh and Badakhshan, the number only amounted to 80,000. Of these, 56,000 were dispatched to Qandahar and 14,000 remained in the triumphant retinue. Amongst them were 5,000 *mansabs*, 4,000 *ahadis* archers and a like number of musketeers; as well as 3000 men for forming the residue of the adherents of His Royal Highness Prince Aurangzeb and the nobles and *mansabdars*.[75]

**Division of the assembled forces**

It was determined in the August presence that the royal forces should be formed into 12 corps in the following manners.

The central was composed of 10,000 cavalry was placed under the command of Umadat-ul-Mulk Allami Sad Allah Khan, the Prime Minister (*Diwan-i-Ala*) along with 364 nobles and *mansabdars*, 4000 musketeers, 1000 *ahadi* archers and 1000 infantry matchlock and rocketmen.[76] The vanguard was under Mirza Raja Jai Singh with 204 nobles and *mansabdars*, 10,00*ahadi* musketeers and 3,000 Infantry. The main body of the right wing was under Rustam Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung with 5,00 *mansabdars*; it vanguard being under Rao Satr Sal with 400 *mansabdars*, 4,00 *ahadi* musketeers and 2,000 infantry; and its outer flank under Iftikhar Khan with 23 *mansabdars*, 200 *ahadi* musketeers, 1000 *ahadi* archers and 1,00 infantry.[77]

The left wing under Mahabat Khan with 424 *mansabdars*, 400 *ahadi* musketeers and 1000 infantry; and its outer flank under Raja Raj Rup with 154 *mansabdars*, 2000

[74] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.465; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.712
[75] Ibid.
[76] Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, vol.III, p.138; tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, op.cit., p.484
[77] Ibid.

*ahadi* musketeers, and 1000 infantry. The rear guard was under Nijabat Khan with 150 *mansabdars*. The right flanking force was under Nasiri Khan, son of Khan Dauran Bahadur Firoz Jung, with 55 *mansabdars*, 100 *ahadi* musketeers, and 400 *ahadi* archers, and the left flanking force under Tahir Khan with 550 *mansabdars*, 100 *ahadi* musketeers and 300 *ahadi* archers. Finally the advanced guard was under Shad Khan with 800 *mansabdars*.[78]

The Persians had a powerful park of artillery and knew how to make the best use of it. The Mughal gunners were highly inefficient and therefore failed to breach the walls of the fort. Raja Rai Rup tried to climb the ramparts of the fort but the enemy opened fire and repulsed the valiant Raja. A serious fight began and from the top of the fort, the Persians continued ceaselessly to pour fire on the besieging army with the result that hundreds were wounded and killed. When valour proved unavailing the Mughals had recourse to treachery. They offered a bribe to the Persian commander who replied that when they had succeeded in weakening the fort or injuring the garrison in any way it would be time for him to think of desertion.[79]

The Mughals failed in spite of their desperate attempts to affect a breach in the wall and though two months and eight days had elapsed success was yet as far as ever. ShahaJahan ordered the siege to be abandoned partly because the Mughal artillery had proved ineffective and partly because the supplies were nearing exhaustion. Sadullah Khan had spoken to him of the dark prospect that lay before the Mughal army, if it preserved in the attempt. Aurangzeb implored his father to allow him to renew his attempt to capture Qandahar and to recover his reputation. He was prepared even to forego the Deccan *Subedari* to which he was appointed.[80]

But Shahjahan was adamant. The courtiers had magnified the risks of the campaign and he paid no heed to Aurangzeb's repeated assurances that the situation was not so hopeless. The prince had to obey and the imperial forces withdraw to Kabul under the strict orders of the Emperor. The conquest of Qandahar was postponed.[81] Aurangzeb tried to persuade him to give him a little more time, but the Emperor was wiser than to do so. The army was tiered, and the soldiers were eager to return home after their

[78] Ibid.
[79]Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid

prolonged but unfruitful exertions. Accordingly the Prince left Qandahar on July 9, and arrived at Kabul where he joined his father on August 7.[82] Aurangzeb as appointed Governor of the Deccan and he left his charge in August, 1652 A.D. the province of Kabul was entrusted to Dara and Prince Sulaiman Shikoh was ordered to act as his regent. [83]

**Third siege of Qandahar-1653 A.D**

The two successive failure of Aurangzeb and the heavy loss of men and money were not enough to subdue finally the pride of Shahjahan. He still entertained some hopes of success, which were brightened by a promise of Dara to achieve what had not been achieved so far.[84]

The *Subas* of Kabul and Multan were assigned to him; his rank was raised to 30,000 *Zat* and 20,000 *sawar*. Dara, who shortly afterwards received the title of Shah Buland Iqbal. Shahjahan gave him a chance to try his hand at Qandahar.[85]

Among the artillery assembled by the Prince for the siege train was a gun called *Kishwar Kush*( clime conquering) and another called *Gadh-Bhanjan* (fort shattering) which had been cast under the direction of Qasim khan. Each of them carried an iron shot one *maund* and eight seers in weight (96 Ibs). There was also another huge piece of ordinance called *Kalan* (great), that carried a short of one *maund* and 16 *seers* (112Ibs), which was entrusted to the management of His Royal Highness's *Mir Atish*. As ammunition for the artillery, 30,000 shots of various calibers were prepared; and in addition 5000 *maunds* of gunpowder, 25,000 *maunds* of lead measured by the imperial weight, and 14000 rockets were also got ready. Having likewise assembled all available grain dealers, the illustrious Prince also made arrangements, for the army commissariat and the safe arrival of supplies.[86]

**Division of the Forces**

Out of the principle nobles and *mansabdar*, an infinite multitude were appointed to accompany the Prince Bulan Iqbal, both from the sublime presence and also from

[82] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.464; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.712; Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, vol.III, p.138; tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, op.cit., p.484; B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 231
[83] Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.49
[84] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.484; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.720; B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 231
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

their *Jagirs* and homes along with 5000 *ahadi* matchlockmen and archers, and 10,000 infantry matchlockmen, gunners, bombardiers and rocketmen. Exclusive of the troops belonging to His Royal Highness and the nobles, the following were also ordered to proceed in his train: 6000 sappers, 1000 of whom were in the service Prince Bulad Iqbal and the great nobles; 5000 miners and a like number of water carriers; 60 elephants in addition to those of the Prince and the nobles; seven heavy cannon, some of which were capable of firing shot weighing two maunds (160Ibs); 70 medium and 30 light cannon which are posted in front of the army during an action; 25 *Gajnal* guns and 100 *Shutarnals*; 300 camels on which the treasure, artillery stores, and manufactures (*karkhanas*) were laden. A treasure of two crore of rupees was also dispatched to cover troop salaries and other expenses.[87]

To serve in the suite of Prince Buland Iqbal, the Emperor deputed: Mirza Raja Jai Singh, Qilij Khan, Rao Satr Sal, and a number of other nobles and *mansabdars*, mustering in all 15,000 horsemen; the 1500 *ahadi*, musketeers and 500 archers who had been previously dismissed along with His Royal highness; and also the force on duty in Kabul consisting of 16,000 horsemen, out of which number 3000 were *ahadi*, 1000 musketeers and 2000 archers. A royal *Farman* was likewise issued to Rustam Khan Bahadur, directing him to proceed expeditiously and join the prosperous Prince; and a number more, who enjoyed the honor of being at court, were also dismissed.[88]

The whole of the forces that were organized for this campaign including the realities of the Prince Buland Iqbal and Sultan Sulaiman Shikoh, and 1000 horsemen that Rana Raj Singh had furnished at the auspicious command amounted to 70,000 horse according to the regulation requiring each chief to provide one fourth of his quota of men, and 56,000 by the rule enforcing one fifth.[89]

On 21st February 1653 A.D, after delegating the charge of the province of the Punjab to Khwaja Moin, one of his most senior followers, His Royal Highness Prince Buland Iqbal left Lahore and set off with the gallant army toward Qandahar. His royal highness deputed his servant Khwaja Moin together with a number of archers, matchlockmen, and artillery artificers to transport the great gun *kalan* and those called

[87] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.478; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.720
[88] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.478; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.720; Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, op.cit., p.494; B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 231
[89] Ibid.

Kishwar Kusha, Qila Kusha, and Maryam to locality sakkar, one of the dependencies of Bhakkar. After taking them on boats down the river and disembarking them, they were then to convey them to Qandahar via Sind and Dadhar. Qasim Khan Mir Atish and the royal artillery men set off directly, taking seven medium guns along with them.[90]

Prince Bulan Iqbal and the main army proceeded along the banks of the river; in 20 days they reached Multan where he halted for some time to enable the officers to join him. He crossed Indus and issued strict orders to his men not to molest the inhabitants on the way. Although a large part of the army had not yet arrived, as the auspicious day for beginning the siege was approaching, the Prince dispatched Rustam Khan to Qandahar to choose the ground for encampment.[91] Meanwhile Rustam Khan had hurried to Qandahar with his comrades numbering nearly 12000 horsemen, and had formed a line in front of Khwaja Khizr gate. Several of the valiant Uzbek youths led by Khwaja then dashed forward and reached the brink of the ditch and bridge; whereupon a number of the Qizil bashis, backed by a fire of guns, matchlocks from the fortress, sallied out and joined battle. Khwaja Khizr Khan and some of his followers were struck by matchlock bullets and a few of Qizil bashis were also killed or wounded. Ultimately, Rustam Khan took up a position with his comrades by the above mentioned gate.[92]

**Capture of the fortress of Bist**

Dara arrived at Qandahar on April 23, 1653 A.D, and formally opened the siege by throwing out entrenchments. He ordered Rustam Khan to watch the Bist road and prevent reinforcements reaching the garrison. Prince Bulan Iqbal should start off Rustam Khan with a gallant force for the purpose of also reducing of Bist and Zamindawar. The capture of these forts would not only serve to demoralize the Qandahar garrison, but it would also allow the blockage of the road by which the Qizil bashis subsidies arrived.[93]

The disposition of the Imperial forces was similar in plan to that adopted on the two previous occasions. The prince encamped near a tank behind the *lakkah* hill in the

[90] Ibid.
[91] Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, part-I, p.720; Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, p.494; B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p. 232
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.

garden of Kamran, a mile from the fort.[94] Mirza Raja Jai Singh was posted opposite the postern gate, Qilij Khan opposite the wais Qarn gate, Mahabat Khan opposite the Baba wali gate and Ikhlas Khan opposite the Chilzina hill. The artillery was posted at strategic points in between the trenches.

When the garrison obtained intelligence of the advance of the Indian Army, Autar Khan sent a fast messenger Qurban Quli, to court assistance. The Shah ordered Haji Manuchahr and Waqlan Beg to march to the relief of Qandahar.

Moreover the commander-in chief Ali Quli Khan was ordered to assemble his men in Bistam. But the Mughals arrived at Qandahar before the auxiliary forces could reach there. Nevertheless undaunted by their superiority of members.[95]In accordance with the instructions of the Emperor, Dara sent Rustam Khan to hold the line of the halmand against the Persians. After the fall of the Bist, Dara addressed a poem to the garrison in which he threatened them with a wholesale massacre, if they did not surrender peacefully.

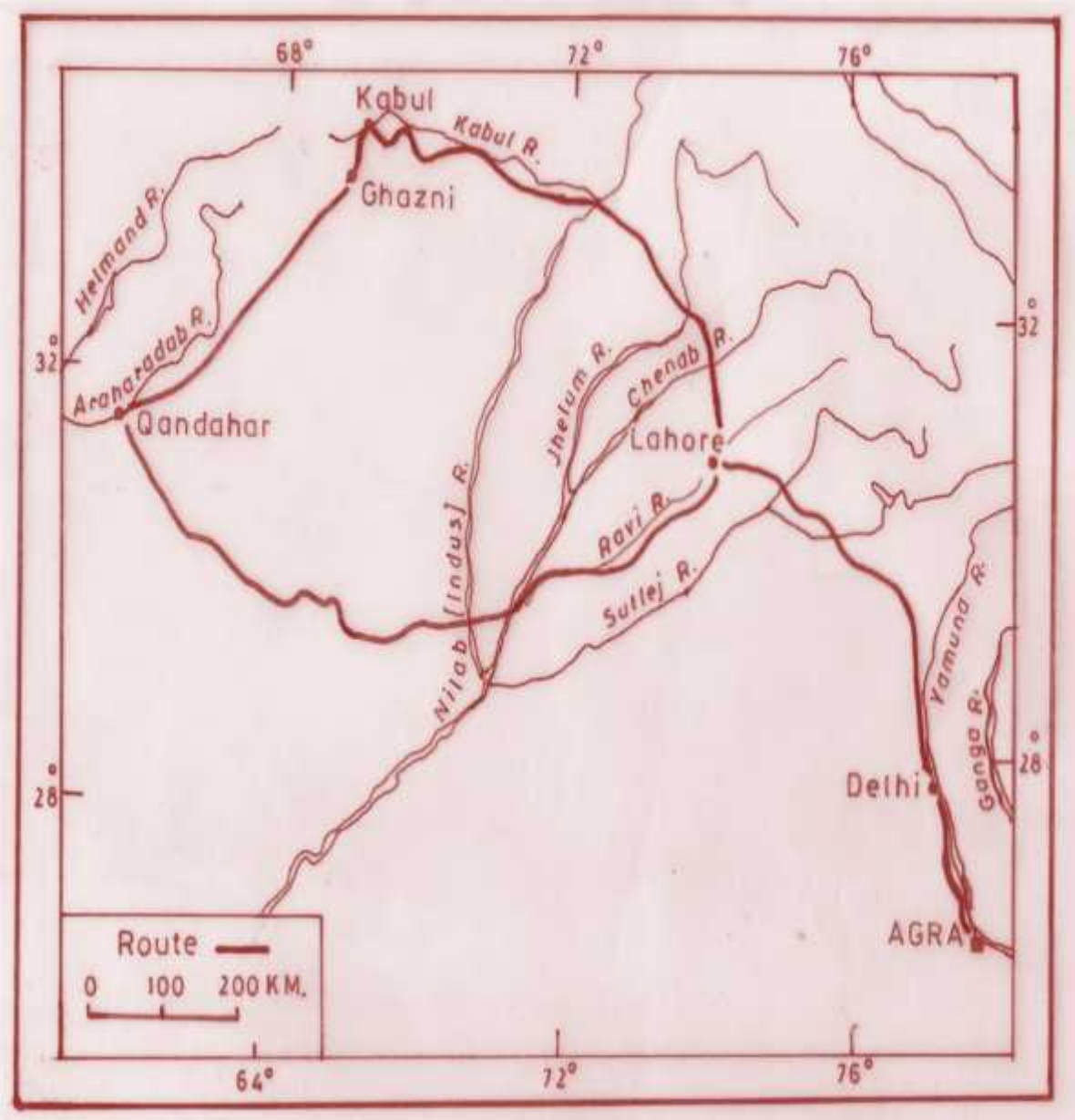
"Let the sword of the entire world move,
It would not cut, if god does not will it".[96]

After threat came persuasion, and the Prince offered tempting rewards, and honorable posts for desertion. There were some who yielded to temptation and the fort, but the majority showed a determination to resist to the end. While these melodramatic negotiations were going on Raja Rajrup made an attempt to carry the Chilzina Hill by assault. He opened fire to batter down the tower which protected the hill, but it proved beyond the range of his gun.[97] The Mughals attacked the fort four times with great intrepidity and vigour but they were successfully encountered by the enemy. They advanced forward for the fifth time with renewed determination and courage. A heavy cannonade began from both sides and the Mughals suffered heavy losses in men and several of their leaders are slain in the fight.[98]

Dara had all along lived in a fool's paradise. Accustomed to the most fulsome flattery, he found it impossible to appraise exactly the magnitude of the formidable task that

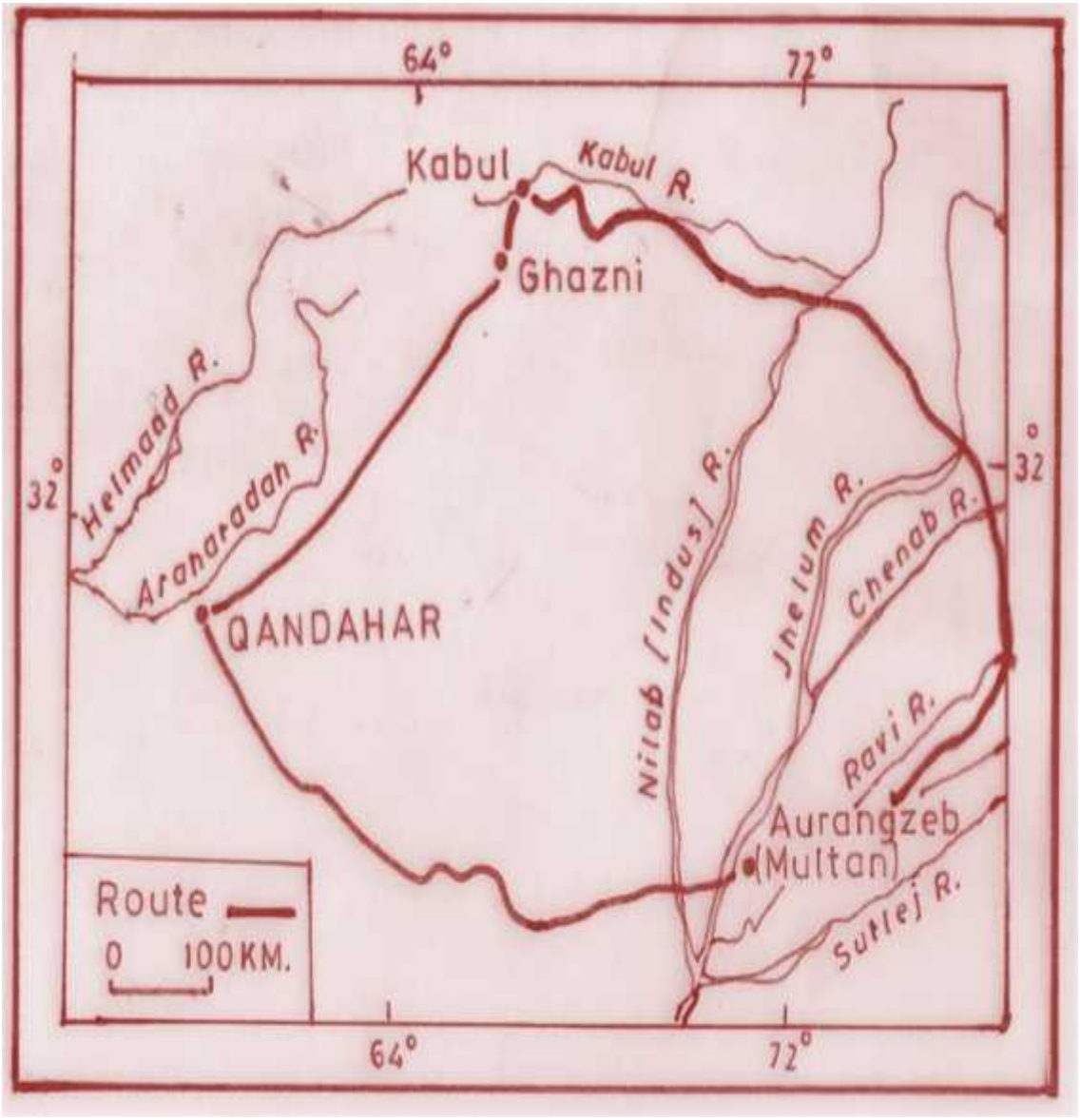
[94] Ibid.
[95] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.478
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Raj Kumar, *India under Shahjahan*, p. 50

lay before him. Ultimately, as the duration of the siege of Qandahar had extended beyond five months, but the winter began to set in. all the lead, gunpowder and cannon balls were expended; and neither was there any forage left in the meadows nor provisions with the army. Accordingly, a royal *Farman* was issued directing that if the reduction of the fortress could be effected expeditiously, the imperial forces might remain there a short while longer; otherwise they should return immediately to Hindustan.[99]

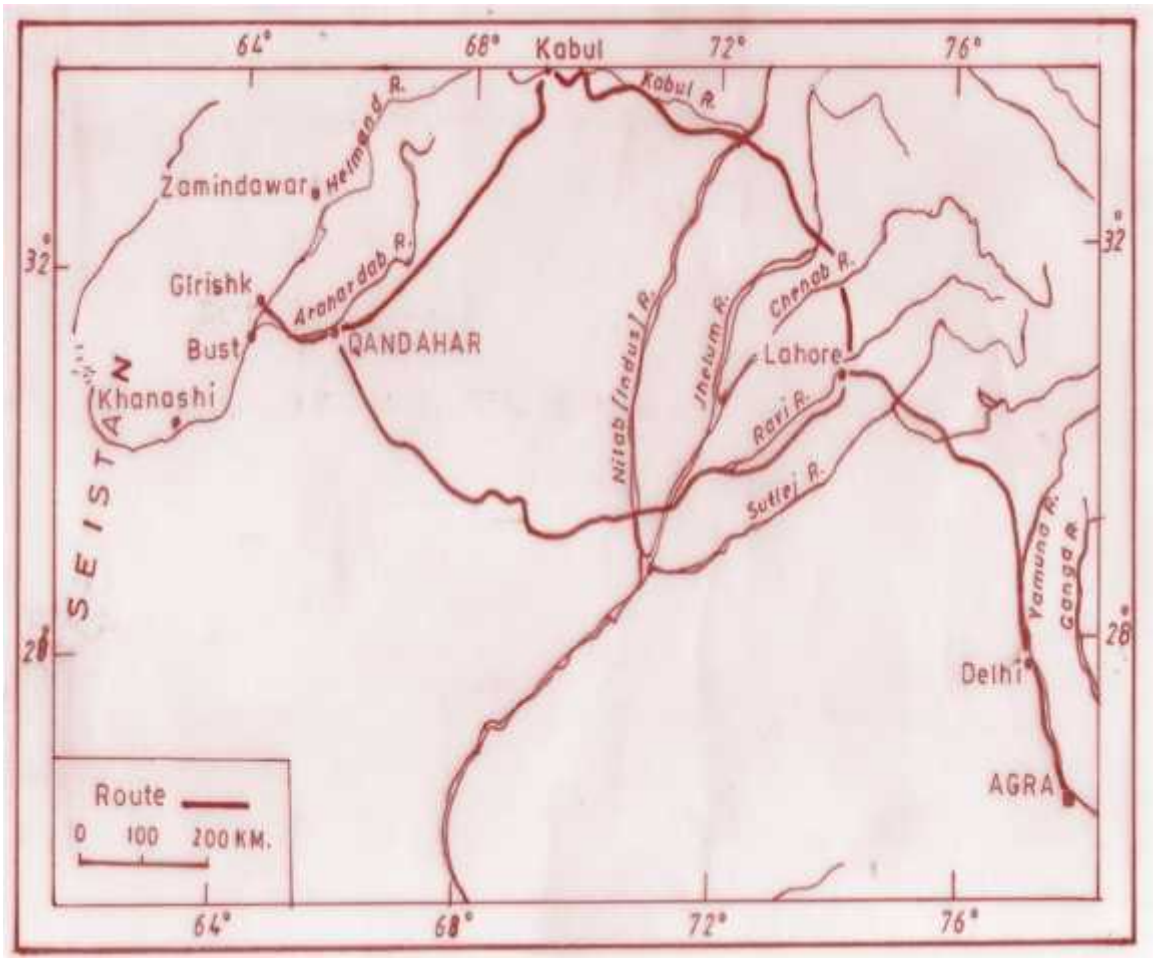



**Map 01: Showing First Qandahar Campaign - 1649**

[99] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.493, Raj Kumar, *India under Shahjahan*, p. 50




**Map 02: Showing Second Qandahar Campaign - 1652**




**Map 03: Showing Third Qandahar Campaign - 1653**

Therefore on 7th October 1653 A.D, in consequences of all these factors, Prince Buland Iqbal had set out from Qandahar for Hindustan. The three sieges of Qandahar cost the imperial treasury about 12 crore of rupees without increasing the territory of the Empire by an inch. Men and beasts were thoughtlessly scarified to gratify the vanity of an Emperor who had no well organized plan of campaign and who fails to realize the importance of the unity of command and prompt action. The military prestige of the Empire suffered considerably. The Rajput generals like Mirza Raja Jai Singh could not do much and his differences with Dara were aggravated by the later's insolent behavior. The final retreat of Dara proclaimed to the world the military inefficiency and weakness of the Mughals.[100]

[100] Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.51

**Central Asian Campaigns**

To the north of the country, (Present day Afghanistan), lay the province of Balkh and Badakhsha surrounded by the river Oxus and the *Hindukush* Mountain. In the middle ages, they were neither civilized nor prosperous and had been ruthlessly ravaged by Mongols, *Uzbegs*, and *Turkomans*, who had all inflicted untold misery on the native population.[101]

Recovery of ancestral Timurid dominions by Mughal rulers of India in the 16th and 17th centuries was a constant dream. They regarded Trans-Oxiana as belonging to them by right of legal inheritance, and they always cast longing eyes on the arid regions of the north. To recover Samarqand and Bokhara Babur went to the length of even sacrificing his religious conscience. Humayun's activities could not extend further than *Badakhsha*. Akbar was confronted by the mighty 'Abdullah Khan *Uzbeg*, and could hardly move his feet beyond the borders of the *suba* of Kabul. And when after the Deccan wars he had an opportunity, his attention was engrossed with the rebellion of his sons. Jahangir inherited the ambition of his father, but lacked practical genius. During his reign, therefore, friendly relations were maintained with the rulers of Trans-Oxiana.[102]

Like his predecessors Shahjahan felt a desire to conquer the lands of Trans-Oxiana, where his ancestors had once exercised their sway. He looked back to the glories of Timur and his heart longed to achieve renown in these distant lands. His reign opened with an unfortunate incident which for the first time openly disturbed the amicable relations existing between the two countries ever since the treaty of friendship between Abdullah and Akbar. Nazar Mohammad, a restless and ambitious brother of the peaceful and generous Imam Quli, to satiate his lust for conquest invaded the north[103].

Southern central Asia in the 17th century was dominated by the Khanate of Bukhara, ruled by the Janid Dynesty (also known as the *Ashtrakhanids*, as they originated from Ashtrakhan). From 1611 to 1642 A.D, the Khanate was ruled by the Imam Quli Khan,

[101] Ibid., p. 37

[102] B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p.182, Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *AMilitary History of Medieval India*, p. 548, Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.37

[103] S.R.Bakhshi and S.K.Sharma, *The Great Moghuls, Shahjahan*, vol.V, New Delhi, p.73

whose reign was generally a stable one. His younger brother, Nazar Mohammad ruled the provinces of Balkh and Badakhsha.[104]

In 1622 A.D, Imam Quli Khan sent an offer of alliance to Mughal Emperor Jahangir, proposing a joint offensive against the Safavids in Khurasan. However, The Mughal Emperor at the time was embroiled in campaigns in the Deccan, and was not particularly interested in diverting forces away from that front. That same year, Shah Abbas of Persia launched an invasion of Mughal Afghanistan, and succeeded in capturing Qandahar. The failure of the Mughals to retake Qandahar from the Persians was the interpreted by the Uzabeks as an indication of the Mughal weakness, and they soon forgot about their alliance proposal, choosing instead to attack the Mughals and profit as the Persians had, The Uzbeks attacked in 1625 A.D and again in 1626 A.D, but were repulsed on both occasions. On 19 May 1628 A.D, Nazar Mohammad launched a large scale invasion of Mughal territory with intention of capturing Kabul[105].

Shahjahan desired to achieve renown in these distant lands. Samarqand was one of the capitals of the Timurids, and the Indian Mughals at times cherished the dreams of gaining possession of the city which Babur had thrice won and lost. With such thoughts in his mind Shahjahan attempted the conquest of Balkh and Badakhasha, dependencies of the kingdom of Bokhara, without adequate means of defending themselves against a powerful invader. Shahjahan's motive was purely lust of conquest; Abdul Hamid Lahori describes The Emperor's motive in these words:

"Ever since the beginning of his reign, The Emperor's heart had been set up the conquest of Balkh and Badakhshan, which were hereditary territories of his house, and were the keys to the acquisition of Samarqand, the home and capital of his great ancestor Timur Sahib Qiran Sani".[106]

Since the very beginning of his accession, The Emperor decided to conquer these territories and due to the reason that Nazar Mohammad Khan came with the intention of conquering Kabul and returned unsuccessful, desired to conquer the territories of

[104] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*, p.182, Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p. 548, Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.37
[105] Ibid.
[106] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p. 482

Balkh and Badkhasha, which were ancestral territories and had earlier been conquered by Hazrat Sahib-i-Qiran as a ruler of Samarqand.[107]

Padshah Zada Wala Guhar Murad Bakhsh with 50,000 horses, 10,000 foot, including musketeers, Rocketeers and Cannoners to chastise the mischief Mongerers. The force was divided in to eight divisions. Each of the *Qol* and *Harawal* had 12,000 horse and 2000 foot. Each of the left and right wings 6000 horse and 2000 foot and each of the flanking parties on the right and left side 6000 horse and 1000 foot, in *Altamish* (vanguard) 2000 horse. And the army of the *Qol* had personality of Padshah Zadah Wala Gauhar Murad Bakhsh and 4000 nobles and *Mansabdarans*, who were in addition.[108]

Ali Mardan Khan who knew the country well also went with the Prince. They entered the city of Balkh on July 2, 1646 A.D, without encountering any opposition. Nazar Mohammad had fled to Persia but finding it difficult to obtain support there, came back. He left his vast wealth amounting to 70 *lakhs* to be plundered by the Mughal soldiery. In the general scramble that followed the flight of Nazar Mohammad, the Mughals were able to seize only 12 *lakhs* of rupees, 2500 horses and 300 camels. Murad who lacked a determined will, pined for the pleasures of the plains and begged the Emperor's permission to leave the place.[109] Shahjahan sent instruction that if Nazar Mohammad behaved, Balkh was to be restored to him and he should be helped to regain control over Samarqand and Bukhara. Nazar Mohammad, who had returned was alarmed at the continued stay of the Mughals on the pretext of helping him. Murad Bakhsh wanted to withdraw from Balkh and several *Amirs* and *Mansabdars* agreed with this decision. Mughal soldiers had, by this time, begun to oppress and plunder the local people. The prince left for India against his father's wishes and Sadullah Khan, the Prime Minister, was sent to assume command in Balkh.[110]

It proved easy to conquer Central Asian territory but far more difficult to retain and govern the Uzbeks. The Mughal outposts were attacked and their communications

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[107] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* p.283, tr. Hamid Afaq siddiqui, Lahori's *Padshah Nama,* p.187, Mohd. Salih Kanbu, *ShahjahanNama,* vol.II, Lahore, 1959, p.354,tr. Mumtaz Liyaqat, *ShahjahanNama,* Delhi, 2008, p.400, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*,p.335

[108] Ibid.

[109] Amal-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama,* p. 363,Raj Kumar, *India under Shahjahan*, p.38, S.A.I, Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents,* vol. II, New Delhi, 1995, p.4, Jos Gommans, *Mughal Warfare, Indian frontiers and his Roads to Empire,* London and New York, 2002,p.95

[110] Ibid.

disrupted. The severity of the winter added woes of soldiers, a few of whom were killed in every raid by a more mobile enemy. There was no unity in the Mughal command. It was wiser to withdraw but the lure of his ancestral lands was too strong for the Emperor.[111]

Meanwhile the Emperor made preparations for a vigorous campaign. Aurangzeb was called to lead the command. Shahjahan appointed Prince Aurangzeb to lead the Campaign. On 24 *Safar* 31 *Julus*/ 31st March, 1647 A.D.[112] Shahjahan asked Mirza Raja Jai Singh to join Prince Aurangzeb but since he arrived late Prince Aurangzeb left for Balkh. He was therefore, directed to wait at Jamrud and join the Prince when he reached Balkh.[113] Raja Jai Singh met Shahjahan in Kabul at the head of 2000 of his contingents and was promoted by another 1000 of his troopers being made *do aspa seh aspa*. He was given an advance of Rs.20, 000 and sent to join Aurangzeb in Balkh.[114] The expedition was liberally financed, and the Emperor himself proceeded to Kabul to direct operations in person.[115] Prince Aurangzeb asked Mirza Raja to join the royal train on the river Attock and directed him to order Ibrahim Beg, *Daroga* of Attock, not to permit the Rajputs to cross Attock without the royal pass and to punish those who defied the orders.[116]

Aurangzeb, with the rank of 15,000 *zat*, 10,000 *sawar* (8,000*do* and *sih aspa*), was now placed command of Mughal troops in Central Asia. He left Kabul on 7th April 1647 A.D, with a large force. By then the situation had become irretrievable with bickering among Mughal commanders, the hostility of the local population, resentment at the presence of Hindus and the unhappiness of Indian troops with service in a hostile environment.[117] Aurangzeb suffered from serious handicap. His position was not as strong as that of the enemy. The Uzbegs numbered about 100,000 while the Mughal force consisted only of 25,000 men. The generals who held districts as signed to them by Sadullah Khan were kept, but they did not leave their posts promptly when their services were required elsewhere. The Uzbegs mode of fighting also added to the difficulties of the Mughals. The nomad savages never risked an open

[111] S.A.I, Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents*, vol. II, op.cit., p.4
[112] Aml-i-Salih, *Shahjahanama*, vol.III, p.4
[113] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.669
[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid.
[116] S.A.I. Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents* (1628-59), vol.II, p. 82
[117] Ibid.

engagement, and they were powerless against their "Cossack-tactics" (southern Russia or gorilla war tactics). But Aurangzeb was not the man to flinch from his resolve. In the first battle of Uzbegs fled from the field when the Mughals and Rajputs opened fire on them. They attacked the imperialists again but sustain a severe defeat. Aurangzeb entered Balkh in triumph and placed it under the command of the Rajput chief Madhu Singh Hada.[118]

Aurangzeb advanced to Aqeba with the Uzbeks hovering around his force and inflicting casualties and losses. On hearing of a large force of the enemy advancing on Balkh, he marched back. Abdul Aziz was easily repulsed by Mughal musketeers. Accepting the superior strength of his opponents Abdul Aziz decided to make peace, in any case his own army of nomads was melting away after each setback. The grim tenacity of Prince Aurangzeb struck terror into the heart of Nazar Mohammad who opened negotiations. Nazar Mohammad arrived with a small body of Persian troops provided by Shah Abbas II and made several unsuccessful attacks on Mughal outposts. His attempt to capture Maimanah fort was also unsuccessful. He decided to negotiate. Shahjahan was willing to return Balkh to him provided he submitted but he was averse to doing so. As winter was fast approaching, Indian Soldiers were reluctant to face the winter of Bukhara and the fear of their communication being cut off by snowing of the Hindu Kush passes.[119] Aurangzeb handed over Balkh to Nazar Mohammad's grandson and commenced to withdraw on 3th October 1647. Grain worth five *lakhs* was abandoned in the forts of Balkh and large quantities of other stores and provisions were left behind. It was now late in the season and the troops suffered much hardship and privation during their march back. The column was constantly harassed by the *hazaras* who were every bit as heartless as the Uzbeks. They plundered some baggage between Ghori and Khwaja Zaid. An attempt to loot the treasure was, however, foiled. Through sleet and snow the withdrawal continued. Aurangzeb showed his mettle by calmly dismounting to offer his prayers with the enemy on his heels and within sight. The rear guard was provided by Rajputs who suffered untold misery. Men and beasts fell headlong down ravines and died without food.

[118] Ibid.
[119] Tirmizi, *Mughal Documents(1628-59)* ,vol. II, p.4

Over the Hindukush snow began to fall. Raja Jai Singh crossed during a snow storm. The treasure was stranded on top of the pass, ferrying it through deep snow and in bitter cold took seven days. Bahadur Khan who was following the treasure had to beat off an attack on the rear guard by the *Hazaras*. He had difficulty in getting across the Hindukush and many men and animals were lost. The prince's baggage reached Kabul a fortnight after he did.[120]

It is mentioned that 500 soldiers were lost in battle but ten times that number, including camp followers, lost their lives due to cold and snow in the mountains. The state suffered a loss of four crore and this was without the payment of any compensation either to the survivors of the expedition for their arduous toil and suffering or to the families of those who perished. The Mughal nostalgia for their homeland was finally extinguished. The expedition had proved a total disaster. Its consequences, however, turned out to be far reaching and still more catastrophic.[121]

The battle was over but it was difficult to settle the terms of a lasting peace. Shahjahan was inclined to give the country back to Nazar Mohammad but he insisted on the condition that he should first make his submission. Three months were wasted in negotiations but the ex-king of Balkh could not make up his mind to accept the terms offered to him. Still in a state of doubt and uncertainty he sent his grandsons to wait on the prince wanted to leave the place quickly, he made over the fort and city of Balkh to Nazar Mohammad's grandsons and made preparations for his home-ward journey.[122]

The Historians of Aurangzeb sum up the results of the campaign in these words:

Thus ended Shahjahan's fatuous war in Balkh, a war in which the Indian treasury spent four crore of rupees in two years and realized from the conquered country a revenue of Rs. 22 ½ *lakhs* only. Not an inch of territory was annexed, nor dynasty changed, and no enemy replaced by an ally on the throne of Balkh. The grain store in Balkh, fort, worth 5 lakhs, and the provisions in other forts as well, were all abandoned to the *Bukharians*, besides Rs. 50,000 in cash presented to Nazar Mohammad's grandsons and Rs.22,500 to envoys. Five hundred soldiers fell in battle

[120] Ibid.
[121] Guru Charan Singh, p.550
[122] Raj Kuamr, *India Under Shahjahan*, pp. 40-41

and ten times that number (including camp followers) terrible price that aggressive imperialism makes India pay for wars across the north-western frontier.[123]

**Deccan Campaigns**

The Deccan literally means the southern and peninsular part of the great land mass of India[124]. Only in one place does Ferishta use the term. He personifies India as Hind and says, "*Dakhan* the son of Hind had three sons and the country of *Dakhan* was divided among them. Their names are Marath, Kanhar, and Tilang. At present these races reside in the Deccan.[125] The most important characteristics of the political situation in the Deccan were that all these states were constantly at war with each other. The Marathas also emerged as great power in India.

The southward expansion of the Mughals in the Deccan right from the times of Akbar was not merely a military operation carried on by a series of warfare but virtually it had been a mulitangular strategy[126]. It had been political, military and economic strategy involving a long term negotiations, covenants and agreements their violations and their gradual and partial subjection and annexation of territories.[127] Babar had little time to spare in regard to the Deccan, still his conquest of Chanderi in 1528 A.D brought him close to the northern borders of Malwa. Humayun also could not devote much time to the Deccan due to his preoccupations in Gujarat, Bengal and Bihar. It was only Akbar who made efforts to extend Mughal suzerainty over the Deccan states.[128]

Shahjahan like his predecessors was anxious to conquer the Muslim kingdoms of the Deccan and he waged wars against them continuously for a number of years. Akbar and Jahangir were actuated by political motives in their Deccan campaigns. But a change came over Mughal policy in Shahjahan's reign.[129]

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[123] Ibid., pp.41-42
[124] H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, *History of the Deccan-Medieval Period (1295-1724),* vol.I, p.1
[125] Ferishta, *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi,* vol.I, cf., H.K.Sherwani and P.M. Joshi, *History of the Deccan-Medieval Period (1295-1724),* vol.I, p. 4
[126] Mohd. Ziauddin Ahmad Shakeb, Mughal Archieves- *A descriptive catalogue of the documents pertaining to the reign of Shah Jahan (1628-1658),* Vol. I, State Archives Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad, 1977, p. XI
[127] Ibid.
[128] Major General Gurucharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India,* p.551
[129] *Qazvini, Badshah Nama,* Part-A,f.124b, Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan,* p.21

One of the reasons was that the Emperor was a strict Sunni and the rulers in the Deccan were Shias who maintained close relations with the Persian Empire. After Shahjahan's accession to the throne, the Mughal governor of the Deccan, Khan-i-Jahan Lodi revolted and joined Nizam Shah. However, Malik Ambar's son, Fath Khan killed Nizam Shah, installed his son Hussain policy in on the throne and accepted Shah Jahan's suzerainty in 1632 A.D. freed from the Bundela war and elated by its successful termination, Shahjahan took up the affairs of the Deccan. He had conquered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, yet it had not been fully subjugated, pacified and consolidated. The defiance to the Mughal authority was directly or indirectly supported by Bijapur partly for its own safety and partly to get a substantial share from the disintegrating kingdom of Ahmadnagar. Shahjahan knew that the pacification and consolidation of his conquests in the South was impossible unless Bijapur was subdued.[130]

In the middle of 1632 A.D, Asaf Khan was replaced by Khan Khanan in the Deccan. Some of the territories in the possession of Sahuji was offered to Fath Khan as bribe. This proposal resulted in Sahuji joining the Adil Shahis and advancing to Daulatabad with an Adil Shahi force. Fath Khan was negotiating for handing over Daulatabad fort to the Mughals but the prospects of help from Bijapur led to second thoughts about the deal. Khan Khanan marched up and besieged the fort.[131]

The outer defenses called Mahakot was also mined Fath Khan tried to negotiate but the Mughals blew a bastions and 45 feet (13.5 meters) of the wall. Fath Khan was now besieged in Kalakot, the citadel. By time Sahuji had arrived and made several unsuccessful efforts to relieve the fort and provide it with supplies. Fath Khan’s negotiations bore fruit; he received a bribe of three lakh pagodas for surrendering the fort and was allowed to take away his family. He was also to be helped in gaining control over the promised territory. Khan Khanan left a garrison in the fort and went back to Burhanpur.[132] He, however, had to return to relieve the garrison which was besieged by the Bijapur force. Later Khan Khanan put Fath Khan in prison and sent

[130] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.74, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.413, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.251a , Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.457, R.P.Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p.446

[131] Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.459, Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.24, Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India* p.551

[132] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.261b, Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.459, Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.24, Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India* p.551

him to court along with the helpless Hussain Shah. The latter was sent for life long imprisonment to Gwalior fort. Fath Khan was taken into imperial service. Thus the Nizam Shahi kingdom came to an end.

Shahjahan's war in the Deccan which has been described before did not result in a complete conquest of the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golkunda. His Sunni heart was disappointed to find that heresy was still rampant in the Deccan and he must needs employ his vast resources in putting an end to it.[133] Besides, he was deeply enraged at Shahji attempts to create trouble in Ahmadnagar. The Maratha leader had set up a boy of the Nizamshahi family as king in direct opposition to the imperial government. The Emperor sent his generals to chastise the rebels and ravage the country of Shahjis. Soon after it transpired that the king of Bijapur had sent men and money to aid the Ahmadnagar rebels in their designs. These intrigues accelerated the Emperor's decision to launch a vigorous campaign in the Deccan.[134] He called upon Bijapur and Golkunda to acknowledge his suzerainty, to pay *Khiraj* as a mark of submission, and abstain from every kind of interference in the affairs of Ahmadnagar.

**BIJAPUR**

Adil Khan ruler of Bijapur, from his own inexperience and his guidance of evil councilors, had quitted the path of allegiance which his father had so long pursued. The Emperor appointed Yamin-ud-Daula Asaf Khan for waking him up from the slumber of negligence and settled that if Adil Khan desired to act like his father, he should sent a suitable *peshkash* to the court otherwise as much territory as could be conquered, should be annexed to the territory under the Empire and rest should be laid waste by the army.[135]

Asaf Khan got a special robe of honour. A number of the principal officers of the state, Azam Khan, Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan, Raja Gaj Singh, Shaista Khan, Raja Jai Singh etc and other *mansabdarans* and *Deccanis* were dispatched along with him, who all received robes of honour, elephants, jeweled daggers, horses and gold, each according to his rank.[136] A *Farman* was issued that Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firuz

[133] Inayat Khan, *ShahjahanNama*, pp.149-151,Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.27
[134] Ibid.
[135] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.74, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.403, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.243a , Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.451
[136] S.M.Jaffer, *The Military Empire from Babur to Aurangzeb*, S. Muhammad Sadiq Khan, Peshawar, 1936, p.234

Jung along with companions and the Telingana troops to join his army. He was also accompanied by 1,000 mounted matchlockmen, 4,000 infantry and musketeers, besides some light field guns and elephants carrying *Hathnal* guns and 1,000 archers.[137]

After the departure of Yamin-ud-daulah from Balapur for the projected expedition, Khwaja Abul Hasan with Raja Jujhar Singh and other *mansabdaran*, Abdullah Khan Bahadur and Nasiri Khan with his followers till Nander hastened to welcome him.[138] Asaf Khan stayed at Nander for two days and speedily went to Qandahar. After inspecting the egress and ingress of the fort, as per order, he left it under the custody of Rumi Khan and proceeded towards the fort of Bhalki. When he reached Bhalki, he dispatched a courier ahead to ascertain how the governor there was disposed towards him. While on their way, the courier returned and brought him intelligence that the garrison, having barred the door of safety against them, were ready to kindle the flames of war with guns and matchlock. Yamin-ud-daulah deputed Yaqut khan to reduce the place, along with the Deccanis and Nasiri khan and the whole of the advanced guard, at the same time dispatching Asalat Khan, the *Bakhshi* of his army, with several *mansabdars* to support them.[139] They decided to scale the walls at night with the help of lassos and ladders and carry it out by an assault. On coming to know about it, the garrison gave up its steadiness and went out of the fort in the darkness of the night. The army entered into the fort from every direction and extending their hand upon arrests and pillaging captured a lot of booty in the form of provisions and belongings.[140] From here, Asaf Khan marched with the army to the outskirts of Sultanpur, which adjoins the city of Gulbarga. There, he had found the enemy had taken a small portion of the local population into the citadel, which they had fortified and supplied with every requisite for standing a protracted siege. Next day, Azam Khan, Abdullah khan and other some nobles, by the direction of Yamin-ud-daulah, marched towards the fort; and notwithstanding the shot and bullets that were

[137] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.405, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.244a , Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.454

[138] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.77, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.411, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.246a

[139] Stanley Lane pool, *Medieval India under Mohamammadan Rule( AD- 712-1764)*, T. Fisher unwin ltd. New York, 1937, p. 211

[140] Ibid.

showered on them from the citadel and fortifications round the city, and destroyed whole citadel at the close of the day.[141]

Yamin-ud-daulah did not engage himself in conquering the fort; he halted on the bank of the river Bhima and there fixed his camp. The adverse army who had lodged themselves under cover of the fortifications of Bijapur on the further side of the ditch, used to cross over every day and draw up in line, whereupon the battle would rage furiously on both sides. In spite of the guns, matchlocks and rockets showering upon them like lightening from the fort, the royalists used to drive the rebels before them and pursue them close up to the walls. Yamin-ud-daulah used to send a force every day to protect the camp followers.[142] During his stay there, bold encounters took place on four occasions between the hostile and royalist forces, each time the royalist forces came off victorious. After some discussions, it was agreed that Adil Khan should collect and deliver over to the royalists a tributary offering of gems, costly jewelry, elephants and cash to the value of 40 *lakhs* of rupees. Royalist forces left Bijapur in the hand of Adil Khan, according to the treaty but after some days, *Bijapuris* dismissed the treaty and return the treaty by their own *wakils*. But the royal army could not stay more than a few days longer, as they were destitute of provisions and both men and cattle were worn out by the toil and fatigue of bringing in grass and firewood from such a long distance and near approach of the rainy season, so Yamin-ud-daulah decided returned towards Bijapur. A military expedition of Asaf Khan invaded Bijapur and besieged Bijapur fort. Poor planning for the campaign by Asaf Khan led to his running for the provisions after twenty days so he had to withdraw the Bijapur country side was devastated before the withdrawal.[143]

In 1637A.D of Shahjahan, the Emperor informed the Sultan of Bijapur of the consequences of defiance and disobedience, but no reply was received. One of the important incidents of this year was the dispatch of three generals to coerce Shahuji and the other Nizam-ul-Mulkis insurgents and to reduce the remaining forts in the Ahmadnagar territories, and to awaken Adil Khanis to a sense of their responsibility.[144] Shahuji was the head of the all dissatisfied characters in the territory

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[141] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.78, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.413, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.247b , Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.456

[142] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B,f.248b

[143] S.R.Sharma, *Mughal Empire in India(1526-1707)*, Agra, 1983, p.423

[144] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.167, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part-II, p.136

and he had started to collect a band of rebellious Nizam-ul-Mulkis. Notwithstanding Nizam-ul-Mulk's being imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. Shahuji started gaining the hearts of the local people and relying on the strength of these powerful strongholds, he had completely set aside the trammels of allegiance and therefore he well deserved to suffer from the royal displeasure.[145]

Emperor appointed three forces was commanded by Khan Dauran, Khan Zaman, and Shaista Khan, marched into Bijapur territory from three sides Khan-i-Jahan by way of Solapur, Khan-i-Zaman by way of Indrapur, and Khan-i-Dauran from the side of Bidar in the north-east. The first of the three forces was command by Khan Dauran and consisted of various nobles and a large number of *mansadars* and *Deccanis*, with 1,000 *ahadis* archers and matchlockmen, the whole amounting to nearly 20,000 horsemen. In Khan Zaman's army consisted of 1,000 *ahadis* and near about 20,000 horsemen with *mansabadars*, Nobles, *Deccanis* and some of Raja Jagat Singh's followers. The force under Shaista Khan included various Mansabdars, Nobles, *Deccanis* and 2,000 Asaf Khan's army and all amounted 8,000.[146]

A *Farman* was issued that the division of Khan Zaman's force, should march to Ahmadnagar, and to release the territory of Konkan from his thralldom, and received another order, they were also to plunder and devastate certain dominions of Adil Khanis. The country was encircled on all sides by the Mughal soldiery and was ruthlessly devastated. Thousands of men were captured and killed and many forts were wrested from the enemy's possession. Both sides soon grew tired of war and negotiations for peace began.[147] The terms of the treaty were settled. Adil Shah acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor and promised to abstain from all interference in the affairs of Ahmadnagar, the territory of which was divided between the two parties, the share of Bijapur being 50 *parganas* yielding an income of 20 *lakhs* of *huns* (80 lakhs of rupees).[148] He was required to pay twenty lakhs as annual tribute. Bijapur was not to let Shaji Bhonsle hold any office until he surrendered Nizam Shahi forts he had taken during the war.[149] But at the instigation of Bijapur, Fath Khan opposed the Mughals when Mahabat Khan captured the Daulatabad fort

[145] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-c,f.387b , Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.521
[146] Ibid.
[147] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.169, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part-II, p.138, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-c,f.389b, Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.525
[148] Ibid.
[149] Ibid.

for the Mughals and sent Hussain Nizam Shah as a prisoner to Gwalior in 1636 A.D. Fath Khan switched over to the Mughals and was assigned a Jagir.[150] Shahji Bhonsle, a Nizam Shahi noble then revived the kingdom by placing a boy of the royal family, Murtaza, on the throne. Shah Jahan had to come to the Deccan to deal with it. He defeated Shahji who fled to Bijapur. Shah Jahan then attacked Bijapur and defeated the ruler, Adil Shah, who signed a treaty with the Mughals in 1636 A.D.[151]

According to the treaty the Nizam Shahi rule came to an end and its territory was divided between the Mughals and Bijapur. For the next twenty years, Mughal-Bijapur relations remained generally cordial and peaceful. In 1656 A.D, the Bijapur ruler died, and Prince Aurangzeb wanted to conquer Bijapur and obtained Shah Jahan's permission. But Dara Shikoh prevailed upon Shah Jahan to stop the conquest and Aurangzeb had to stop the operations. The issue of arrears in the payment of tributes was raised by Shah Jahan in 1656 A.D, advised Aurangzeb to besiege the Golconda fort. Here also, at the intervention of Dara, the siege was lifted when Golconda ceded some areas. The campaign in the Deccan did not bring any positive benefit to the Mughals but paved the way for the annexation of the states there in time to come[152]. In 1656 A.D, Adil Shah died. It was believed that he had no son but his wife, Bari Sahiba declared one child as his son and succeeded in placing him on the throne, with the name of Adil Shah II. Shah Jahan tried to take advantage of it. He charged Bijapur for different things and ordered Aurangzeb to attack it. Aurangzeb besieged the fort of Bijapur but before he could capture it, he received orders of Shah Jahan to raise the siege. A treaty was, therefore, signed between the two by which Bijapur accepted the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor and agreed to pay rupees one and a half crore to the Mughals. The forts of Bidar and Kalyani also remained with the Mughals.[153] When Aurangzeb ascended the throne, the situation in the Deccan was complicated due to the growing power of the Marathas and the unwillingness of the sultanates to honour the treaties which Shahjahan concluded with them in 1657 A.D.

Golconda accepted the suzerainty of the Shahjahan, married one of his daughters to Prince Muhammad, son of Aurangzeb, gave rupees ten lakhs as dowry and yet

[150] Ibid.
[151] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-c, f.391b , Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part-I, p.529
[152] Major General Gurucharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*,p.55
[153] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.548

another rupees seventeen lakhs as war-indemnity to the Mughals. Thus, though Golconda was weakened but its existence remained.

**Golkunda**- When Shahjahan arrived at Hindiya, on the other side of the Narbada, he dispatched 'Abdul Latif Gujrati. The letter which he carried makes interesting reading. It opens with a formal demand for the abolition of Shiaism in Golkunda. The Emperor says that as a Sunni Monarch it is his duty to eradicate apostasy, and asks 'Abdullah to prohibit the reviling of the campaigns and punish those who insist on it.[154]

The ruler of Golkunda , overwhelmed by the presence of such a powerful army.[155] Judged discretion to be the better part of valour and made his submission. The imperial envoy Abdul Latif was received at a distance of 10 miles from, the capital by the Qutub Shah who acknowledged the suzerainty of the Mughal Emperor and agreed to have the *Khutba* read and the coins struck in the latter's name. With a servility which did little credit to his high rank, the Qutub Shah accepted all the humiliating terms proposed by the Emperor. He agreed to the inclusion of the first three *khalifas* in the *Khutba* and the removal of the name of the Persian ruler to whom the *Shias* had turned for help and guidance.[156] For the next eight years the affairs of the Deccan were in the charge of Prince Aurangzeb, 18 years old, was appointed viceroy of the Deccan which comprised four provinces- Khandesh, Berar, Telingana, and Ahmadnagar.[157] These four provinces contained 64 forts and their total revenue amounted to 2 Arab *dams* which was equal to 5 crores of rupees. He maintained his own representative at Golkunda.[158] Aurangzed had a successful tenure until 1644 A.D during which he placed the administration on a sound footing and acquired Baglan and the forts which had been taken by Shahji. He was reappointed viceroy of the Deccan in 1653, when he arrived for the second time in Deccan, he adopted a stern attitude towards the Qutub Shah, and asked him to clear the dues at once, or otherwise to cede a part of his territories. The annual tributes of 2 lakhs of *huns* was always in arrears, and repeated damming on the part of the Mughal viceroy only met with excess and petitions for delay, next, the exchange value of the Huns rose from Rs.4 to

[154] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*,Part-B, f.361b, B.P.Saksena ,*History of Shahjahan*, p.174
[155] Raj Kumar, *India Under Shahjahan*, p.24, B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.25
[156] Ibid.
[157] Inyat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*,p.556, Hadiqat, cited by *History of Shahjahan*, p.179, Guru Charan Singh, p.552
[158] Ibid.

Rs.4 ½ in 1636 A.D and finally to Rs. 5 in 1654 A.D. Qutub Shah had been paying his tribute at the old rate of eight lakhs of rupees a year. The Mughals now demanded that the difference due to changed exchange for all the past years should be paid at once, thus forming a new burden of 20 *lakhs* of rupees.[159] A further cause of complaint was provided by the latter's unauthorized conquest of the Carnatic. Abdullah Qutub Shah could not satisfy these extravagant demands, and thus drew upon himself the anger both of the Emperor and of the Prince. The crisis came when he imprisoned (21st November, 1655 A.D) the family of *Mir Jumla* and his son Mohammad Amin for the disobedient conduct of the former. Aurangzeb immediately reported him incident to his father, and requested sanction of war with Golkunda.[160]

In anticipation of the royal order he mobilized his troops under his son Muhammad Sultan at Nander. Meanwhile he forwarded his father's *Farman* to Abdullah Qutubshah ordering him to release the family of Mir Jumla, and requesting him not to hinder the latter from coming to the imperial court, since he had been appointed a *mansabdar* of 5000. The Qutub Shah disregarded these commands, and Aurangzeb ordered his son to enter Golkunda. Although Mohammad Amin was released and sent to him, Prince Muhammad continued his march and reached Hyderabad which was sacked and plundered. Abdullah fled to Golkunda, and shut himself in the fort. He sent daily envoys to Prince Muhammad to offer his submission and task for peace, but earlier could do nothing till the arrival of his father. Aurangzeb arrived on February 6, 1656 A.D, and began the siege of Golkunda[161]. Finally, in spite of the passionate appeals of Aurangzeb for the annexation of Golkunda. Shahjahan ordered him to stop the war and conclude peace. So on March 30, in obedience to the Emperor's order, Aurangzeb raised the siege. But in spite of the treaty of 1656 A.D, there remained causes of conflicts between Golkunda and Delhi, and Aurangzeb after his accession took advantage of them to push on his imperialistic policy.[162]

The state of Ahmednagar was completely annexed to the Mughal Empire and Bijapur and Golconda were forced to accept the suzerainty of the Emperor, surrender part of their territories and a few important forts and pay annual tribute and war-indemnity.

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[159] J.N.Sarkar, A *Short History of Aurangzeb, 1618-1707*, Orient Longman, Ltd., 1979, pp.10-11
[160] Ibid.
[161] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p. 567, J.N.Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. I, Orient Longman, Ltd., 1973, p.20, B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*, p.181
[162] Ibid.

Probably, even Bijapur and Golconda could be annexed if Shahjahan himself would not have stopped Aurangzeb from attempting so. Shahjahan understood well the politics of the Deccan. Probably, he felt that the annexation of these two states would complicate matters for the Mughals. Thus, the Deccan policy of the Mughals during the reign of Shahjahan remained quite successful.[163]

Raja Jai Singh with help from prince Muazzam was able to conclude the treaty of Purandar with Shivaji in 1664 A.D, but his subsequent two attempts to conquer Bijapur ended in failure. The Bijapur ruler's death in 1672 A.D and the accession of his minor son, Sikandar, to the throne made it favourable to the Mughals to continue with their policy of expansion. Hostilities were resumed in 1676, and Daler Khan replaced the Mughal general Bahadur Khan in 1680 A.D.

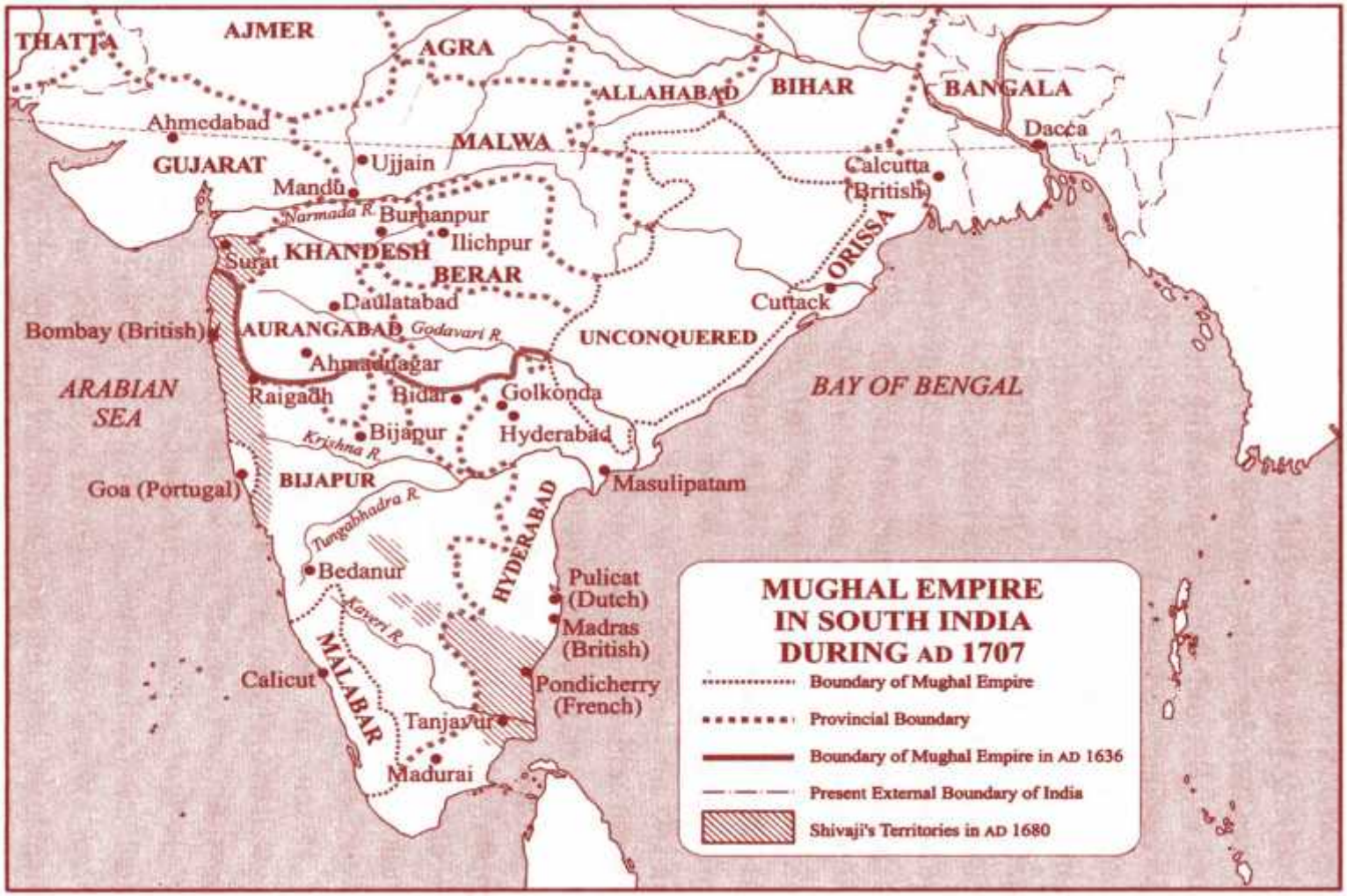
The precarious peace between Bijapur and the Mughals was disrupted when the latter asked Bijapur to help them against Sambhaji. As Bijapur did not comply, military action was started in 1685. Sikandar Adil Shah surrendered in 1686, and the Adil Shahi kingdom was annexed to the Mughal Empire. Aurangzeb was not too pleased with Golconda because the ruler had employed Brahman ministers. Also, the Mughals came to know of Golconda's military help to Bijapur during the Mughal's military operations in 1685.

So Prince Muazzam was ordered to attack Golconda, and in the battle of Malkher in 1686 A.D the Qutb Shahi forces were routed. The ruler took shelter in Golconda fort and surrendered after a siege lasting for eight months in 1687. Golconda was then annexed to the Mughal Empire, thereby ending the Qutb Shahi dynasty.

The Mughal Emperors, till the reign of Shahjahan, remained satisfied with forcing the sates of the south to accept their suzerainty and did not insist on annexing them. Aurangzeb, however, attempted to annex them to the Mughal Empire.

Though Shahjahan succeeded in his designs, but his success was short-lived. Soon after Deccan was to become his graveyard. His period thus witnessed not only the successful completion of the Deccan policy but also its failure, since the economy suffered and the centralized administration could not control such a vast area effectively.

[163] R.P. Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire,* p.447




**Map 04: Courtesy - Satish Chandra's *History of Medieval India*, New Delhi, 2007**

## Chapter-2

# REBELLIONS: CAUSES AND SUPPRESSION

The four major and many other minor rebellions which occurred in the reign of Shahjahan furnish an indication of the revival of a tendency so commonly to be met with in the history of Muslim rule in India.[1] That each of them was led by a favorite of Jahangir is not merely an accident, by abolishing the *Jagir* system and insisting upon efficiency, Akbar gave a new orientation to the relationship between the sovereign Power and the nobility. According to the new conception, greater subservience was demanded from the later, whose devotion and loyalty to the king was to be a part of the duty which they owed to him, and which entitled them to no special privileges other than those which originated from the pleasure of their master.[2] In other words, the king could never be holden to his nobles. This sound principle, necessary for the maintenance of absolute despotism, degenerated and was even discarded in the reign of Jahangir. Though the consequences did not immediately prove fatal to the Mughal sovereignty, a great stimulus was provided to the working of an evil factor which did ultimately destroy it. In the following instances it will be noticed that either the grant of *Jagirs* in their own native land, or undue favoritism, or a combination of both, was responsible for the outbreaks.[3]

**Khan-i- Jahan's Rebellion**

Shahjahan was confronted with rebellions during the first year of his reign. A rebellion which caused much more trouble was in the Deccan by Khan-i-Jahan Lodi who held out for sixteen months.

Khan-i-Jahan Lodi was the son of Daulat Khan Lodi and belonged to the *Shahukhail* clan. His name was Pir Khan. In early youth he quarreled with his father and came to Bengal to Raja Man Singh with his elder brother Muhammad Khan. One day, they were desirous of crossing the river and entering the city (Gaur), a dispute arose on

[1] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi*,London,1931,p.66
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

board the boats and it ended in a fight[4]. After the Raja had heard of what the two brothers had done in the matter he, on account of his former knowledge of them, presented them with Rs. 30,000 and sent them away lest they should be maltreated by the Rajputs. Mohammad Khan died in early age and Pira had the good fortune to become a favourite with Prince Sultan Daniyal.[5] The Prince spoke of him as his child (*Farzand*).[6] After the prince death, in his twentieth year entered into the service of Jahangir and became a special favorite.[7] Firstly, he obtained the rank of 3,000 and the title of Salabat Khan and shortly after wards received the high title of Khan-i-Jahan and the rank of 5,000.[8] In point of intimacy and the influence of his words he had no rival, and Jahangir ordered that he should have a seat in the *Ghusalkhana*.[9]

At the same time when Mahabat Khan withdraw from the court with evil designs and joined Shahjahan in Junair, Jahangir gave his title of the commander-in chief to Khan-i- Jahan. Jahangir did not insist on the relation of master and servant between them and treated him as a friend.[10] Khan-i-Jahan was appointed the governor of Multan[11] during the reign of Jahangir. After the death of Jahangir, Shahjahan ascended the throne, he sent Jan Nisar Khan[12], who was a confidential and tactful servant to Khan-i-Jahan with a gracious *Farman* and another for the confirmation of his governorship of the Deccan.[13] Jan Nisar Khan was to ascertain further his secret sentiments and to ask his opinion about Shahjahan's marching by way of Burhanpur. But Khan-i-Jahan, although he had not fallen short in serving the Prince at the time when he was in Junair, at this time accepted the instigation of Darya Khan Rohila, and the advice of Fadil Khan, the *Diwan* of the Deccan, who said that sultan Dawar Bakhsh had been placed on the throne in the camp, and that Shehreyar was laying a claim to the sovereignty in Lahore. He also said that Shahjahan to whom he had rendered such services had been joined by Mahabat Khan the day before yesterday, and that

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[4] Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula Shahnawaz Khan and his son Abdul Hayy, *Maathir-ul-Umara,* vol.I, tr. H.Beveridge, Janki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p.795
[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Memoirs of Jahangir, *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol.I, tr. Alexander Rogers, ed. Henry Beveridge, Munshiram Manohar Lal, New Delhi, 1978, p.87
[8] Ibid.
[9] *Mathir-ul-Umara*, vol.I, op.cit.,p.796
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., p.797
[12] B.P.Saxena, *History of Shahjahan*, op.cit., p.68
[13] *Mathir-ul-Umara*, vol.I p.798

Shahjahan had given him the title of *Sipahsalar* which had been conferred on him (Khan-i- Jahan) by the late king Jahangir[14].

In the death of Jahangir, he stood as a traitor to the Empire. Meanwhile he watched the rapidly changing political contest seemed to lie between Shahriyar and Dawar Bakhsh, and ignorant of the real situation as he was, he felt confidence of the success of NurJahan whom he thought he would easily placate. Unfortunately he could not properly estimate Shahjahan's prospects to the throne, and it is possible that he even imagined that they were non-existent[15].

In fact, they definitely estranged him from Shahjahan by pointing out to him that the latter had conferred the title of commander-in-chief on Mahabat Khan which rightly belonged to him.[16]So when Jan Nisar Khan arrived at Burhanpur with a message from Shahjahan, Khan-i-Jahan's mind was torn by conflicting emotions. He received the messenger coldly, and dismissed him unceremoniously without giving any reply to the letter, but told Jan Nisar Khan verbally that he was not in a position to serve Shahjahan.[17]

But Khan-i-Jahan was reluctant to make any efforts in the Deccan, and when the Emperor noticed it, he transferred him to Malwa. Upon the flight of Jujhar Singh from court. Khan-i-Jahan was ordered to cooperate with Mahabat Khan in subduing the rebel, who soon submitted.[18]

But this was nothing as compared with the unique privileges and distinctions to which he had become accustomed, and which he now regarded as belonging to him by right.[19]This consequent feeling of disgrace and shame made him moody and suspicious.[20]

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[14] Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p.542
[15] *Mathir-ul-Umara*, vol.I p.799
[16] Ibid.
[17] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, p. 295, Mohammad Amin bin Abdul Husain Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, R.No. 192, Part-A, B.M.,MS. No. Or., 173;( Riew i/258), 1963, Seminar Liberary , A.M.U, f.118, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.34
[18] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.34
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

There occurred an incident which greatly terrified him. Mirza Lashkari, son of Mukhlis Khan, said in jest to the sons of Khan-i- Jahan, they and their father would soon be thrown into prison.[21]

Khan-i- Jahan was much dismayed on hearing this and he retired to his house. He posted his two thousand Afghans to keep watch round him, and stopped going to court.[22]

Shahjahan very soon noticed his absence, and inquired its reason from Asaf Khan, and when the official report did not satisfy him, he sent Islam Khan to ask directly from Khan-i-Jahan the cause of his absence from court.[23] Khan-i-Jahan frankly admitted his apprehension to Islam Khan and told him that nothing but a gracious *Farman* from the Emperor could restore his equanimity.[24] On the intercession of Asaf Khan, Shahjahan wrote a reassuring letter to Khan-i- Jahan, and the latter was satisfied for the time being.[25] But it was impossible to convince him conclusively that the Emperor intended no harm to him.[26]On the other hand, the more he saw of the new administration, the more did his fears grow. He noticed that the methods of government were growing stringent, and that unscrupulous defaulters were being called to account.

Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, due to his malicious mind, entered into a state of irrational fearfulness and compulsively fled away from the court. The same night (5th October, 1629 A.D), the men of Yamin-ud-daulah, due to their close neighbourhood to him, who were aware of this affair, informed that he intended to take flight on that night.[27] Upon this Asaf Khan sent *wazir*. Shahjahan with held his permission, and asked Asaf Khan to wait till the intended flight became an accomplished fact.[28] Shahjahan immediately ordered Khwaja Abul Hassan, Sayid Muzaffar Khan, Nasiri Khan, Raja Jai Singh, Khan Zaman, Safdar Khan, Allah Vardi Khan, Fidai Khan, Mutamid Khan and host of other officers to pursue the rebels.[29] They caught up with Khan-i-Jahan in

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[21] R.P.Tripathi, *Rise and Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p.453
[22] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.34
[23] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, p. 274, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.181
[24] Ibid.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Ibid.

the out skirt of Dholpur, where upon the Afghans turned and gave battle[30]. The rebels finding the waters of the Chambal in front and avenging sword behind, took up their position among surrounding creeks and undulations, and waited for the attack of the Imperialists. The conflict which followed was short but deadly. During the fight on one occasion Prithviraj Rathor and Khan-i-Jahan opposed each other.[31] Khan-i-Jahan was mounted but Prithviraj was on foot, his horse having been killed. Nevertheless they fiercely charged each other, and both of them were seriously wounded. In such individual combats, the Imperialists lost about hundred men including Khidmat Parast Khan, Mir Atish, Khavas Khan Bhatti, Marhamat Khan and Mohammad Shafi.[32] The rebels lost about sixty men. Khani-i-Jahan was hit by the bullet fired by one the royalist, he made good his escape from the battle field along with his two sons Azmat and Hussain and Shams Khan his son-in-law.[33]

The imperialists could not continue the pursuit because their leading officers had been wounded, so they stopped at Dholpur[34] to give rest to the sick and suffering.

Khan-i-Jahan crossed the flooded river Chambal in great confusion.[35] When he entered into the territory of Jujhar Singh, he discovered that the chieftain was at that time in Deccan. However, with the help of Jujhar's son Bikramajit, he was able to pass through the territory by an unfrequented route. Khan-i-Jahan proceeded to seek refuge in the adjacent territory of Gondwana,[36] he took a little rest here, and then passing through Berar, entered the kingdom of Ahmadnagar, where he expected to find a refuge.[37]

After sometimes Imperialist wanted to take up the pursuit of the rebels, but the Chambal was in flood, and it was difficult to cross it.[38] It was decided to take some rest before starting. The wounded were sent to Agra where Shahjahan generously rewarded them with gifts and promotions.[39]Khwaja Abul Hasan, after two days rest,

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[30] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*,p.34
[31] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.279, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama* ,Part-B, f.182
[32] Ibid.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*,p.34, Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p. 276
[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, p.280, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.183
[39] Ibid.

crossed the Chambal to renew the pursuit of the rebels; he could not find any trace of them.[40]

When Khan-i-Jahan arrived in region of Nizam Shahi, he was joined by Sikandar Dhotani, the *Jagirdar* of Jalnapur, and Bahlol Miyana, the *Jagirdar* of Balapur.[41] All three rebels repaired towards the court of Nizam-ul-Mulk at Daulatabad, and when they reached the precincts of the town, Murtaza II, who was then staying in a camp outside the fort, came to welcome his old friend. He led Khan-i- Jahan into his camp and seated him in the centre of the *masnad*, himself retiring to a corner.[42] In further proof of his good intentions he assigned to Khan-i- Jahan the *Pargana* of Bid, and advanced him money for his expenses. In fact the arrival of Khan-i- Jahan Lodi inspired Murtaza II with new hopes.[43]

On the other hand, the victorious army was unable to catch up despite having covered the distance in quick time. After having marched by the route of Gwalior and Antri, the royalist reached the boundary of the territory of Gondwana and encamped there. When they learned that Khan-i-Jahan had fled to Daulatabad, the Imperialist army was ordered to proceed towards Daulatabad for the purpose of punishing Nizam-ul-Mulk and exterminating Khan-i-Jahan. 17th December, 1629 A.D, the royalist left the border of Gondwana and proceeded toward the Deccan.[44]

During these days, the victorious standards had shifted from the vicinity of the fortress of Ranthambore and then proceeded through the territory of Malwa, afterwards crossing the Narbada River into Khandesh.[45]

March 1630 A.D, three large armies were dispatched towards Balaghat under the command of the notable leaders Iradat Khan, Raja Gaj Singh and Shaista Khan. This was the purpose of expelling Nizam-ul-Mulk and Kha-i-Jahan from the vicinity of Fort Asir.[46]With Iradat Khan were Jujhar Singh Bundela, Rizwan Khan Mashhaddi, Ikram Khan and others, in all about 20,000 horses out of Ahdiyan and Barqandazan. With Raja Jai Singh were Nusrat Khan, Bahadur Khan Ruhelah,Raja Biththal Das and

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[40] Ibid.
[41] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.35.
[42] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, p.288, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-B, f.183.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Ibid.

others all were about 15,000 horse of *Ahdiyan* and *Barqandaz* and in the army of Shaista Khan were Sipahdar Khan, Raja Jai Singh, Fidai Khan and others. Iradat Khan got a splendid robe of honour, bejeweled dagger with *Phool Katarah*, tittle of Azam Khani, a horse from the royal stable with golden saddle and an elephant from the Royal stable. Raja Gaj Singh and Shaista Khan were given suitable instructions and advise to follow the directions and opinions of the latter.[47]

May 1630, Majesty having heard that a disagreement had arisen between Azam Khan and Shaista Khan. Shaista Khan had been recalled to the court so the Emperor decided that Asaf, who had desirable conduct, habits, nature and thoughts and was unique in leading and performance, was appointed to lead the forces at Balaghat.[48] He got robe of honour and some other nobles were appointed with Yamin-ud-Daulah.

The movements of Azam Khan's army were as follows. On the expiration of the rainy season, he had broken up his standing camps and set out to exterminate Nizam-ul-Mulk and the Afghans. When the rebels heard this, they turned off from Jalna, where they had been passing the rains towards the direction of the Pathri. When Azam Khan had become cognizant of their departure, he marched after them in haste, but after some days, he learned that Nizam-ul-Mulk had ascended the Pass at Dharur, where he had taken shelter in the fort, and that Khan-i-Jahan had not yet quitted his position at Bir or Bair[49].

When Khan-i-Jahan received intelligence that the royal troops were moving in that direction, he had immediately ordered the collection of the revenue from the districts attached to Bir. Consequently he was awaiting the arrival of Darya Khan from this quarter, and junction of Muqarrab Khan and Bahlol from Dharur.[50]

Azam Khan therefore, in the hope of overthrowing and dispersing the rebels before the arrival of rainy season. However, at this time messengers arrived in quick succession from Safshikan Khan Rizvi, governor of Bir, with the news that Khan-i-

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[47] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*,Part-B, f.193
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.321, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.200, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.37,( Darya Khan- previously Darya Khan Rohilla, father of Bahadur Khan, whose past misdemeanors had been overlooked by the leniency of His Majesty, had been restored to the rank of the highest nobles. However, in these days, owing to the innate ingratitude of his disposition, and lured by the promptings of friendship and the ties of compatriotism, he now fled away from Burhanpur for the purpose of joining the rebel Khan-i-Jahan).

Jahan was at Rajauri, which is at a distance of 24 Kurohs (*kos*) from Machhligaon. Distributing the effects of the merchants whom his followers had attacked and plundered. Since most of his allies had already joined him the messages urged that the royal army should immediately advance to the attack, if they were anywhere in the vicinity.[51]

Azam Khan wanted to surprise the rebels, he asked Saf-Shikan Khan, the commander of Pathri, to come out of the fort and keep Khan-i-Jahan engaged, lest he should take to fight on the approach of the Imperialists. The plan succeeded admirable; for while Shif-Shikan was fighting with the rebels, Azam Khan appeared on their rear. At this moment the enemy's encampment was breached by Raja Jai Singh, commander of the Advanced guard, with his Rajputs, Sipahdar Khan, chief commander of the right wing, with Bahadur Khan, Sardar Khan and his comrades; Ithimam Khan, the commander (*Darogha-i-TopKhana*) of artillery, with the matchlockmen (*Tigangchiyan)*; and Marhamat Khan, the Paymaster( *Bakhshi*) of the *ahadis*, with that corps[52].

In his nervousness Khan-i-Jahan abandoned his camp, and attempted to ascend the neighboring hill and to fly across it. The royal army was disorganized for a moment, because the soldiers began to plunder the deserted camp. But the daring officers such as Bahadur Khan Roholla, Ehtiman Khan and Narhar Das Jhala, in spite of their scanty following, quickly gained the top of the hill and began to pursue the rebels. When the old man (Khan-i-Jahan) saw that a troop had suddenly arrived and the others were following suit, he sent the elephant litter having his women to Sivgaon and he himself stood firmly to wage battle and sent Bahadur , son of his brother , upon whose bravery and manliness he had full confidence, to deliver and attack upon Bahadur Khan and other warriors.[53]

For some time the battle raged furiously among the rugged hills of Bir, and the Mughals very narrowly escaped defeat by the timely arrival of reinforcements. But Narhardas Jhala with some of the Rajputs also scarified their lives. Sipahdar Khan, Hawas Khan, and Marhamat Khan, who had come upon the hill from right hand side,

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[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.201

sought refuge behind a wall of stone there and started shooting arrows. Raja Bahadu Singh Bundela reached from the right wing of the army for the assistance of Bahadur Khan and made brave efforts and some of the persons accompanying him were killed. Raja Jai Singh,Raja Biththal Das and Raja Anup Singh etc. who were on the other side of the mountain too reached for the battle. Azam Khan speedily reached at the foot of the mountain and stressed Multafat Khan, Rao Sur Bhurtiyah and Chandrman Bundela and other men of the left wing to advance. At a time when some of the Imperialists were hard pressed in the battle, the ill started Bahadur lost his steadiness due to the arrival of the Imperial forces one after the other and turned away from the battle with the Afghans.[54] Bahadur Khan Rohilla was wounded twice. Khan-i-Jahan and his men fled towards Shivgaon under a shower of flying missiles, arrows and bullets. During the pursuit, which continued for about two miles, Raja Pahar Singh killed Bahadur Khan, a trusted follower of Khan-i-Jahan and he struck it upon his neck, conveyed his head, horse, shield, ring and two swords. His head was sent to be hanged upon the gate of Bir for display as a warning to all the rebellious persons.[55]

After driving the rebels from Bir, Azam Khan returned to Machhligaon, being suspicious of the loyalty of some of the Deccani *Amirs* in his train[56]. Khan-i-Jahan reached Shivgaon where he was joined by Dariya Khan, being still afraid of pursuit, he pushed on to Daulatabad, whence Dariya Khan marched to Payinghat; and after successfully sacking chaligaon and Dahranganv, he returned to Balaghat[57]. On the other hand Azam Khan stayed in Bir for giving rest to the beasts and the army and sent a detailed report of the operations to the court. Appreciating his services, the Emperor sent a splendid robe of honour, bejeweled sword, a horse from the royal stable with gold accoutrements and an elephant from the royal stable to him. And Bahadur Khan got a robe of honour, bejeweled dagger and, with an addition of 1,000 *sawar*, the *mansab* of 4,000 *zat*, 3,000 *sawar*, a horse with Mutalla saddle and an elephant and the other servants too got conferment.[58]

When Khan-i-Jahan and Darya Khan turned their faces from Sivgaon to Baizapur in Nizam-ul-mulk's country, with a view to reach Daulatabad. When Azam Khan had

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[54] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.324, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.202
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

learned of this intention, he proceeded to march with about 20,000 horsemen in that same direction.[59] During those days, Shahuji Bhonslah, son-in-law of Jadu Rai, who was the commander of the Hindu forces of Nizam-ul-Mulk, joined Azam Khan after the murder of Jadu Rai, he had broken all ties with Nizams and settled in Poona. He wrote to Azam Khan that he want to serve the Imperial Court. When Azam Khan wrote it to the court, a *Farman* was issued from there to console him and the *mansab* to be proposed for him, his relations and dependants would be granted.[60] On receiving this order, Sahuji joined the army with 2,000 horses and as per the request of Azam Khan, got the robe of honour.[61] On hearing about the march of Imperialist forces towards Sivgaon, Khan-i-Jahan and Darya Khan from Baizapur and Bhonslah went to Mauza Qasur, 10 *kos* from Daulatabad. After some days later, he along with some followers shifted to Awbash Durrah, which was situated within the cover of the fort. Darya Khan separated from the old man with 1,000 Afghans with the intention of raiding the environs of Andol and Dharanagaon and departed towards Chandor Ghat and Chalisgaon.[62] When this news reached to the attendants at the court, the Emperor deputed Abdaullah Khan Bahadur, who had been summoned from Balaghat to the court for his treatment, for the chastisement of Darya Khan. He got a robe of honour for this. Who had come with Abdulah Khan Bahadur, and Saif-ul-Mulk and other *Mansabdaran* and *Ahdiyan* and *Kamandar*(archers) and *Tifangchiyan* were sent with him. At the news of Abdullah Khan's approach from Balaghat, Darya Khan quickly retreated after having invaded the aforementioned districts.[63]

On the one hand, the Imperialist were devastating the Nizam Shahi country on all sides; on the other a severe famine raged round Daulatabad, which added terribly to the misery of the people.[64] Owing to the prolonged draught, there was a scarcity of pasture about Daulatabad and its vicinity. Azam Khan did not deem it expedient to move his armies in that direction and decided to turn his attention towards Muqarrab Khan and Bahlol, who were in Dharur and Amba Jogai and he also received a letter of Yamin-ud-Daulah from Mauza Ojhar as per his reflections.[65]Due to it, he marched

[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, p.329, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.206
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

towards the Ghat via the route of Manikdudah.[66] During the course of ascending upon that, they arrested the following of the horse and foot of the enemy, who were in that defile and under the supervision of Ehtisham Khan, Mir Atish, who had first of all commenced to enter the Ghat prior to the coming of the main forces, they fought a battle. A group of the servants of the courts and *Tifanghchiyan* of the Imperial court, who were with him, became planted with such a stability and extended their hands towards fighting that a lot of the enemies were killed and some of the chiefs were arrested. The Imperial Forces ascended upon Balaghat and alighted at Mauza Damangaon, which is at distance of 20 *kuroh* from Ahmadnagar. They departed from there on the second day and reached Qasba Jamkhair in the vicinity of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Azam Khan made over this place in Jagir to Dilawar Khan Habshi, who had joined the imperial services.[67] Next day, the victorious army reached at Mauza Tilangi. The garrison had fortified its *burj* (turrets, ramparts) and enclosure and fixed *bans* (rockets), arrows and muskets. To reduce the fort, Azam Khan detached to royal Artillery, the *Ahadi*, archers and the others; as well as a party of his own matchlockmen. In the course of a single *Pahar* (three hours), they succeeded in taking the fort. After putting some of the besieged to death, they captured about 500 persons as well as the munitions of war that the place contained.[68]

When the royal army came to the bank of the Wanjera, the enemy descended from the pass of Anjanwati into the neighbourhood of Bir. Whereupon Azam Khan dispatched Shahu ji Bhonsle to seize all the places belonging to Junnar and Sangamner, he himself hastened after them over the pass of Ailam into the town of Bir. After this, the enemy fled away to Daulatabad. Azam Khan also returned to Balaghat, he started in the direction of Dharur to intercept them. Meanwhile he learned that they had only sent their elephants and baggage to fort Dharur, and were about to move to Payinghat.[69]

Due to the pressure of the imperial forces, Nizam-ul-Mulk's territory suffered severely from the royal forces. Moreover Khan-i-Jahan becomes distrustful of his ally. So in company with Darya Khan and other disaffected chiefs, and all his own

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.330, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.208
[68] Ibid.
[69] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.209

partisans, he set out from Daulatabad towards Malwa hoping to achieve something in the Punjab with assistance of the Afghans. The royal commander Abdullah Khan proceeded against Darya Khan to Payinghat, when he received information of the approach of the Afghans; he was instructed to set out in pursuit towards Malwa.[70]

Abdullah Khan starts his journey and reported the circumstances to court. Emperor appointed Sayyid Muzaffar Khan Barha, loaded with many marks of esteem, a number of nobles, *mansabdars*, musketeers, and mace-bearers to accompany him[71]. The latter Sayyid Khan was ordered to march by Bijagarh and after crossing the river Narbada in the vicinity of Mandu, to hasten to any point threatened by the Afghans. As soon as Abdullah Khan had arrived in those regions, he was to cooperate with him in all further movements. Accordingly, the Sayyid Khan proceeded to his destination with the greatest of speed. When Abdullah Khan gained intelligence that the rebels had crossed the pass of Dharampur, he also crossed at the same point. Consequently, he was obliged to move to Dipalpur. As reports were constantly reaching him that the Afghans, after ravaging the borders of Ujjain had gone to Naulahi, he also started in that direction[72].

In the fourth year of the August reign (1631 A.D), continued the pursuit of the rebel, Khan-i-Jahan. Abdullah Khan reached Naulahi, Sayyid Khan had learned on his way to Mandasor that the Afghans had moved off to the right, so he marched on and encamped at locality of Talgaon. Where Abdullah Khan arrived from Dipalpur and joined him.[73]

The message was received that the Afghans were 10 *kos* from Talgaon on the previous day and had marched from there on that day. The imperial forces hastened towards Talgaon as speedily as possible.[74] But at Khilchipur, they learned that the Afghans had gone towards Sironj and the disappointment was chasing them at every place. The imperial forces reached Sironj and came to know that the Afghans had reached there two days before.[75]

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[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*,p.51, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-B, f.221
[74] Ibid.
[75] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, p.338, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*,p.51, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-B, f.221

When the old man and Dariya Khan had no way to flee, they turned to the right from Sironj and entered in to the country of the Bundelkhand so as to push on to Kalpi. But Bikramajit (eldest son of the Jujhar Singh) was not now as friendly to him as before. He prudently realized that the consequences of any failure on his part to deal with the rebels, he attacked the rear of Khan-i-Jahan, which was led by Dariya Khan. During this fight altogether about 400 Afghans and 200 Bundelas were slain. As soon as the head of the Dariya Khan arrived at court, Bikramajit in return for these services was loaded with favours and honoured with a superior *mansab*, as well as the tittle of Jagraj (Lord of the World).[76]

After the death of Dariya Khan, he gave himself up for lost and fled like a madman in the greatest desperation, after reaching in Mauza Naimi in the vicinity of Bandhu. But the imperialist gave him a hot chase, and Sayyid Khan surprised Khan-i-jahan, when he was just resting after a long and tiresome journey[77]. In utter desperation Khan-i-Jahan donned his armour, and with his five or six hundred men oppose the Sayyid. During the fight his son Mahmud and Sadar Rohilla, one of his confidential advisors, lost their lives. Khan-i-Jahan abandoned his Elephants and fled towards Kalinjar, where the command Sayyid Khan blocked his way; Sayyid Khan seized twenty two Elephants from Khan-i-Jahan and captured his son Hasan, whom he put to death by order of the Emperor.[78]

Khan-i-Jahan now reached the river Sindh utter misery and disappointment. Here some of his followers deserted him, and shortly after Saiyad Muzaffar Khan and Madho Singh appeared with their men. Preferring death on the field to death on scaffold, Khan-i-Jahan like a brave Afghan charged the Imperialists. He soon lost his horse. But he continued to fight in foot. He attacked the mace –bearers of Madho Singh, but was overpowered by the Rajputs. Madho Singh wounded him with his dagger and his followers soon cut him to pieces. Shortly after Abdullah Khan also arrived on the scene, and sent Khan-i-Jahan's head to court. The bearer Khwaja Kamgar received the title of Ghairat Khan.[79]

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, p.340, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,*p.53, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-B, f.223
[78] Ibid.
[79] Ibid.

**Jujhar Singh's Rebellion-**

The first rebellion which was led by Jujhar Singh but very soon this rebellion finished, but after some times it is occurred again, so it is called first rebellion under Shahjahan. Rebellion of Jujhar Singh resembles in many respects that of Khan-i-Jahan and some of the causes were common to both.

Shahjahan was confronted with rebellions during the first year of his reign. The first to revolt was the Bundela chief Jujhar Singh son of Raja Nar Singh Deo Bundela[80] of Ochha who was amply rewarded by Emperor Jahangir for the murder of Abul Fazal, he celebrated author of *Akbarnama*, when Jahangir was heir apparent. In obedience to orders from the Emperor Akbar, the Shiekh Abdul Fazal was hastening to court from Deccan with a small contingent. Jahangir was jealous of the Sheikh's devotion to his father, and was apprehensive that his arrival would interfere with his own plans, and hence the murder of Abdul Fazl was done by Nar Singh[81] After the death of Nar Singh Deo, his son Jujhar Singh was confirmed in hid rank of 4000 *zat* and 4000 *sawar* and asked to proceed to the Deccan.[82]

Jujhar Singh arrived at Agra on April 10, 1628 A.D and presented to the Emperor one thousand rupees and elephants. The Emperor bestowed on him a dagger set in with precious stones, standards and drums. His reception at court was thus very satisfactory.[83]

But soon after, Shahjahan ordered an enquiry into the unauthorized gains of his father.[84] Jujhar Singh measured it highly unbelievable that he could satisfy the Emperor, and getting alarmed at the prospects of open disgrace, he secretly fled from Agra on June 11. His pursuit was, however, postponed[85]for the time being because of the invasion of Kabul by Nazr Muhammad. But when that trouble was over, Shahjahan turned his attention to Jujhar Singh. A large army consisting of 10,000 horsemen, 2000 musketeers and 500 sappers was dispatched from Agra under the

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[80] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, pp.238-239,tr. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India, As told by its own Historians, The Mohammaden period,*vol.II,Calcutta,1996,p.6,Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula Shahnawaz Khan *Masir-ul-Umara,p.*757, tr. H. Beveridge, vol. II, Calcutta,1952,p.197

[81] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, p.239

[82] Ibid.

[83] B.P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Delhi,* p.80

[84] Ibid.

[85] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, p.204

general command of Mahabat Khan. To moderate his impetuosity the Emperor associated with him Islam Khan, Moreover, orders were issued to Khan-i- Jahan to march from Malwa towards Orchha with his 8000 troops. He was asked to take with him Raja Bharat Bundela the rival claimant to the Bundela gaddi.[86]

A third army under the command of Abdullah Khan and Bahadur Khan Rohilla was ordered to join on Ochha from the east.[87] To ensure unity of action, and to advance the operations, Shahjahan left Agra in October 1628 A.D. moving restfully on the way and stopping to hunt at places, especially at Bari, he arrived at Gwalior on January 3, 1628 A.D. In the meantime, Mahabat Khan, who was marching ahead of the Emperor, crossed Gwalior and entered Bundelkhand. He arrived within 32 miles west of Orchha, whereas Khan-i-Jahan arrived much nearer[88], from the south and began to devastate the surrounding country. Abdullah Khan crossed the eastern frontier of Bundelkhand, and closely invested the fort of Iraj, with Waqar Khan and some others he attacked the fort on the east, and Bahadur Khan Rohilla attacked it from the north.[89] Raja Pahad Singh[90] leveled the outer wall by driving his Elephant against it, where as Bahadur Khan affected an entrance through the main gate.

The capture of Iraj and the single mindedness of the royal commanders scared Jujhar Singh.[91] Moreover, about this time here had arisen some dissatisfaction against him among his own subjects, owing to his imprisoning his brother Hardev Singh on the mere suspicion of an undue intimacy with his wife. In these circumstances any attempt from his part to resist the invaders would have been futile. He gave way and approached Mahabat Khan to intervene on his behalf. The Emperor forgives Jujhar Singh of his offences.[92] Upon the successful termination of this revolt Shahjahan left Gwalior on Feb.7, 1629, and a week later arrived at Agra. Here Mahabat Khan[93] presented the rebel Jujhar Singh, who gave to the Emperor one and half million of rupees as indemnity and forty elephants as *peshkash.* In return Shahjahan restored to him his original rank, but confiscated some of his *jagirs*, which were distributed

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**86** Nawab Samsam-ud-Daula Shahnawaz Khan, *The Mathir-ul-Umara*, ed., Maulvi Abdul Rahim, vol. II, Calcutta, 1888, p.215 tr. H.Beveridge, Patna, 1979,pp. 212-214
87 B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p.81
88 Mulla Mohammad Sualeh, *ShaJahanama*,tr., Mumtaz Liyaqat, New Delhi, 2008, p.254
89 Ibid.
90 *Mathir-ul-Umara*, vol.II, p.472
91 Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.204
92 B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p.82
93 *The Mathir-ul-Umara*, vol.II, p.758

among Khan-i-jahan, Abdullah Khan, Rashid Khan, Syed Muzzafar Khan and Pahad Singh.[94] Jujhar Singh was required to be present in the Deccan with 2000 horsemen and 2000 infantry.[95]

During the campaign against Khan-i-Jahan, Jujhar Singh served under the command of Azam Khan and fought valiantly under the Mughal flag. In gratitude of his merits he was in January 1630 A.D. promoted to 5000 *zat* and 5000 *sawar*, and in May of the same year both he and his brother Pahad Singh[96] were dignified with the title of Raja.[97]

Azam Khan was so impressed with his tactics and courage shown by him that he often summoned Jujhar Singh to the council meeting and gave due consideration to his suggestions. During the siege of Dharur his followers twice raided the *Deccani* outposts, and seized many elephants, horses, mules and bullocks and upon the surrender of the fort he was fitly rewarded for his services.[98]

When Azam Khan was superseded by Asaf Khan, Jujhar Singh was ordered to join him.[99] He remained in the Deccan till 1634A.D, and participated in the siege and reduction of Daulatabad by Mahabat Khan. After that, with the permission of Mahabat Khan, leaving his son Jagraj as his substitute in the Deccan, he returned to his own country.[100] Jujhar Singh declined all such overtures upon this Prem Narayan sent a messenger to Shahjahan to solicit his help against the aggression.[101]

Meanwhile the son of Raja Prem Narayan joined Khan Dauran in Malwa, whence he proceeded to court to complain to the Emperor of the unprovoked aggression of Jujhar Singh and the violent death of his father at the latter's hand. Shahjahan had now reason to be angry with Jujhar Singh.[102]

The rejection of the terms offered to him, together with the flight of Jagraj from the Deccan, provided to Shahjahan the necessary justification for severe measures against

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[94] B. P. Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p.82
[95] Mulla Mohammad Sualeh, *ShaJahanama*, p.257
[96] *The Mathir-ul-Umara*, vol.II,p.217
[97] Lahori, *Badshah Nama* ,vol.I, p.238
[98] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p.83
[99] Lahori, *Badshah Nama* ,vol.I,p.239
[100] Ibid.
[101] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli,* p.83, Abha Singh, *Jujhar Singh's Rebellion: Badshah Nama -A Reappraisal*, Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Calcutta, 1990, p.237
[102] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part.II, p.94

Jujhar Singh. A large army of 20,000 men commanded by three eminent generals of the Empire was ordered to enter Bundelkhand and crush the rebels. Khan Dauran at the head of 6000 troops was directed to go by way of Chanderi to Bichhor, and pass the rains there. He was to be accompanied by Debi Singh, a rival claimant to the Bundela gaddi, who was given the title of Raja and the rank of 3000 *zat* and 3000 *sawar*. Abdullah Khan was ordered to capture Iraj and stop at Bhanir; and Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan was ordered to Badaun. At the end of the rains the three commanders were to deliver a concerted attack on Orchha.[103]

These extensive military preparations struck terror in to the heart of Jujhar Singh and he approached Asaf Khan and requested him to mediate with the Emperor on his behalf. Shahjahan consented to send Sundar Kavi Ray again to Orchha, but this time he pitched his demands higher. Jujhar Singh was asked to pay an indemnity of three million of rupees, to surrender the *sarkar* of Biyanwan, in lieu of Chauragadh, to send Jagraj to the Deccan to serve under Khan Zaman, finally to send his grandson to court, where he was to remain as a hostage for his good conduct. The commanders were ordered to stay the proposed operations till the return of the messenger.[104]

Jujhar Singh was not sincere in opening negotiations. It was a trick to gain time to complete his preparations. He was unable to comply with the royal demands, he had plenty of money, but he was simply unwilling to part with it. Like so many other rebels, he miscalculated the strength of the sovereign power and Shahjahan's determination to use it effectively against his enemies.[105]

When Emperor saw the offensive behavior of Jujhar Singh, he ordered to his officers to open campaign against him. He appointed three generals, who were practically of equal rank.[106] Prince Aurangzeb was appointed as supreme commander and Shaista Khan was appointed as his guardian and advisor. Prince Aurangzeb's *mansab* was fixed at 15000 *zat* and 5000 *sawars*.[107]

Jujhar Singh's strongholds were seized by the emperor's officers but Shahjahan was not satisfied with it, he wanted to finish Jujhar Singh. The only punishment which a

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[103] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-B, f.343
[104] Ibid.
[105] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part.II, p.99, Qazvini, f.348, Abha Singh, op.cit., p.237
[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.

rebel of that type deserved was death. Hence, flushed with their recent successes, the imperial commanders marched towards Chauragadh. Jujhar Singh's spirit now completely destroyed and fled away to Shahpur.[108]

Jujhar Singh and his grand son Durjansal were captured alive when they escaped to the neighboring forests where they were killed by Gonds. Their dead bodies were found by Khan Dauran, who cut off their heads and sent them to court.[109]

**Champat Rai's Rebellion**

In 1638A.D, twelfth regnal year of Shahjahan, the history of the Bundelas after the fall of Jujhar Singh loses its continuity, but the tragic fate of their ruler and the enormities perpetrated by the conquerors bred a spirit of opposition among the inhabitants of Bundelkhand.[110]After the suppression of Jujhar Singh, a capable and energetic leader attracted them to his banner and declared war against the Mughals. The Champat Ray Mahoba, a descendent of Udajit, ruler of Mahoba, whose dynasty had fallen into a shade before the dazzling glory of the house of Orchha. Champat Ray was a friend of Bir Singh, and helped Jujhar Singh during his rebellion[111].

Some of the well wishers of Jujhar Singh managed to take his son Prithvi Raj (young son of Jujhar Singh) to dense forests. This group was headed by Cahmpat Ray, who assembled a following under his name and began to interfere with the affairs of the people at large in certain *Mahals* of Islalambad and other *Parganas* of those environs.[112]

Baqi Khan, the *Faujdar* of that *sarkar*, did what he could to check the activities of Champat Ray, but the *gurilla* tactics of the Bundelas foiled his schemes. Baqi Khan did not enter into the arduous forests and pathway as one ought to and not able to wipe out this sedition mongering following.[113]

When about the middle of January 1639, Shahjahan left Agra for Lahore, Champat Ray became more daring then ever. He raided the Mughals outposts with impunity and fearlessly intercepted the convoys of *subedars*, his depredation extended to

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[108] Ibid.
[109] Ibid.
[110] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p. 91
[111] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.268
[112] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.136
[113] Ibid.

Sironj, Bhilsa and Dhamuni. So the Emperor thought appoint to Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang to wipe out their roots.[114]Due to it, Shaista Khan was given a special robe of honour and a *Farman* was issued to Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang to exert his zeal in wiping out the very foundations of and traces of these refractory.[115]

At last in April 1640 A.D, his spies reported that Champat Ray and Prithviraj were in the forest between Orchha and Jhansi. Abdullah Khan wanted to go personally to disperse the rebels, but Baqi Khan persuaded him to entrust the command of the expedition to him. He successfully surprised the Bundelas, and captured Prithviraj who was ordered to be imprisoned in Gwalior. But the arch rebel Champat Ray escaped, and the trouble in Bundelkhand continued.[116]

The tardy way in which Abdullah Khan had conducted the campaign dissatisfied Shahjahan, and he recalled him. Bahadur Khan Rohilla, a young and spirited officer, was appointed in his place. The new commander began his work with great zeal, and soon routed a party of the rebels. But his enemies at court misrepresented his activities to the Emperor, and warned him that if he were allowed to remain in Bundelkhand, he would turn it into another Rohilkhand.[117] The Emperor recalled him, and for the second time sent Abdullah Khan.[118]Champat Ray remained as elusive as ever, since the inhabitants of Bundelkhand supported him solidly.[119]

The Emperor therefore ordered Pahad Singh to extinguish the trouble in his native country. He was a son of Bir Singh Dev, and as such could claim the loyalty of his fellow tribesmen, which would weaken the position of Champat Ray. He arrived in Bundelkhand, and within a month Champat Ray submitted to him and entered his service, with the approval of the Emperor. For some time, its seems Champat Ray served Pahad Singh with devotion. But the latter soon grew jealous of his popularity, and so Champat Ray left him and took service with Prince Dara.[120] In spite of his

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[114] Ibid.
[115] Ibid., p.137
[116] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.194, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.269
[117] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.221
[118] Ibid., p.247
[119] Ibid.
[120] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, pp.303-304, *Maasir-ul-Umara*,vol.II,pp.257-258, the *pargana* of Koonch was assigned to Champat Ray., B.P. Saksena, pp.92-93

strained relations with Pahad Singh, Champat Ray tried to maintain an appearance of cordially with him.[121]

Pahad Singh contrived to smuggle some stolen property into the camp of Champat Ray, accused him of theft and put him to shame. Champat Ray complained to Prince Dara, who instead of investigating the matter, believed Pahad Singh, and deprived him of his *Jagir*.[122] This estranged him from the Prince, and he revived his hostility to the Mughals. He however took his full revenge on Dara by showing to Aurangzaeb a little known ford to cross the Chambal by fighting on his side at Samugarh.

**Jagat Singh's Rebellion**

Raja Basu, the *Zamindar* of Mau Nurpur, (Present day, Himachal Pradesh), was favourite of Jahangir. On his death he was succeeded by his son Suraj Mal. Jagat Singh was the second son of Basu Dev. The golden period of Pathania rule in Dhameri came under the reign of Jagat Singh. Under him the state reached her pinnacle. In 1618, while Dhameri was still ruled by Suraj Mal, Jagat Singh was in charge of a *mansabdar* (Mughal army detachment) in Bengal[123]. The rebellious and fiercely independent attitude of Suraj Mal was a source of constant annoyance to the Mughals and caused their Emperor, Jahangir, to exile him to Champat and place Jagat Singh on the *gaddi (throne).*[124] Jahangir promoted Jagat Singh to the rank of 1000 *zat* and 500 *sawar* and deputed him to help Vikramajit in the siege of Kangda. But by the end of Jahangir's reign he had attained to the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*.[125]When Shahjahan ascended the throne, he conformed Jagat Singh in his *mansab*.[126] In November of the same year Jagat Singh was appointed *Thanedar* of the middle Bangash to punish the rebel Khataks.[127]

Jagat Singh was annoyed and not on good terms with his eldest son Rajrup for certain affairs and despicable desires. In 1640, when the court was at Dar-us-Sultanate

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[121] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p.93
[122] Chhatra Prakash, pp.31-32 cf. B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*, p.93
[123] *Maasir-ul-Umara*,vol.II, pp.157-60
[124] *Archeological Survey of India,* Annual report,1904-05,pp110-120
[125] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli*,p.94
[126] Jagat Singh fought for Shahjahan in the battle with Shahriyar, Qazvini, Part-C, f.116 , According to Lahori he came with Asaf Khan to Agra, and was confirmed in the rank of 3000 *zat* and 500 *sawar* and at the end of the tenth regnal year(1638 A.D) was holding the rank of 3000 *zat* and 2000 *sawar*, vol.I, p.183
[127] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-II, p.64

Lahore, he got the *Faujdari* of *Daman*-i-*Koh*, Kangra and realization of the *Peshkash* from the *marzban* of those environs.[128] In the third Regnal year of second decade, when the Emperor was going to Kashmir, Jagat Singh was ordered to clear the way. During his absence at court, the administration of the Nurpur state was carried on by Jagat Singh's son Rajrup. He began to indulge in transgression due to secret conspiracy with his father. And when the things took place openly, Jagat Singh, through some of the court officials proposed, "If the *faujdari* of *Daman-i-koh* is granted to the slave, he pledged that he will catch hold of that wayward and present him for his wavering acts and will realize a sum of 4 lacs of rupees as *peshkash* from the *marzban* (meaning) of those territories,"[129]his request was accepted. Shahjahan permitted Jagat Singh to return home, on his understanding to pay an annual tribute of four hundred thousand rupees.[130] On reaching Kahngra, he vainly concluded that the terrain of his native place, with its lofty mountains and narrow defiles, would furnish an adequate stronghold for his own rebellion and began to strengthen certain forts; particularly for the fort of Taragarh, which he had raised upon a high hill and provided it with the instruments and means of fortifications and rendered it a safe retreat for his evil days.[131] When these circumstances reached the royal ear, Emperor sent an order to summon him and he sent in reply an *'Arzdasht'* filled with subtle excuses, which were not liked by the Emperor, sent Sundar Kavi Ray for enquiring about him,[132] and to warn him about the evil consequences of such acts. Sunder wrote to the court that apparently he displayed as if he was overwhelmed with fear and requested him to allow him to remain in his native place and desired to send Raj Rup to the court for seeking pardon for him. He had become a strayed from the right path.[133]

On the arrival of this report, his Majesty's suspicious of the Raja's disloyalty were now confirmed. Upon this Shahjahan ordered three generals, Sayyid Khan Jahan, Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang, and Asalat Khan respectively, for the purpose of administering appropriate punishment to the rebel. The supreme direction of the whole was assigned to Prince Murad Bakhsh, who was instructed to proceed from

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[128] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.237, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.278
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.239

Kabul by way of Sialkot to Paithan, along with the nobles and *mansabdarans* serving under him[134].

*Padshahzadah* Murad Bakhsh entered Paithan after marching via Sialkot from Kabul. Said Khan Bahadur Zafar Jang, who had stayed at Behrampur till the expiry of the rainy season and the reaching of the prince and Asalat Khan, who had gone to Jammu to assemble the *Zamindars*, reached to him. The plan of the operation as laid down by the Emperor was to besiege the forts of Mau and Noorpur simultaneously.

Murad Bakhsh sent Said Khan, Raja Jai Singh Gwalairi and Asalat Khan as per order, to conquer the strong fort of Mau, eight miles from the Paithan, Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan was sent to Noorpur and he himself stayed at Paithan to make available provisions and other necessities.[135] Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan, who as per order (29th August, 1641A.D), had moved from Raipur via the pass of Balehwan in the direction of Noorpur, reached at the foot of the pass, he came to know that Rajrup had blocked the way. 15th November, he departed for his chastisement. He made Najabat Khanas the vanguard of this army, and defeated them with the strikes of the swords, arrows and others defeated those who were occupying the defile of the pass and, making those guarding it to flee, occupied it with great exertion.[136] Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan conveyed himself to the pass of Machchi Bhawan with great speed. Although from this place to Noorpur in the difficult narrow passes of the mountain. They marched through it and alighted at a high and wide hill, ½ *kos* from the Noorpur. Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan deputed the vanguard to ravage the populated areas out side the fort. The vanguard entered in to the fort and fortified it. Said Khan came to the foot of the fort in the morning of the next day and came to know that Jagat Singh had tried to strengthen the fort and accumulated the cannons, muskets and provisions and all the requisites of the fortification and had with him 2,000 musketeers, so he began to lay siege to the fort and apportioned the trenches to conquer the fort.[137]

Khan Bahadur Zafar Jung through the route of the skirts of the mountain Harah, Raja Jai Singh and Asalat Khan deputed on the bank of the river Chaki via the pass and

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[134] Ibid.
[135] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.261, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.281
[136] Ibid.
[137] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.282

joined each other environs of the Mau and alighted near the Bagh Raja Basu[138] (situated on the leveled ground and joins the mountain of Mau on its one side).

There were dense forests of trees in the environs of the fort, removed them from the front, widened the roads to pass over.[139] The Imperialists went on pushing the trenches and strengthening their holds and the besieged defended with arrows, muskets and other implements of war, they dealt blows upon the following going for collecting firewood and fodder.[140]

12th October, 1641A.D, Qilij Khan departed for Mau and Rustam Khan to render reinforcement to Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and when the loyal *Zamindars* told that of the forces were deputed to Ropar, which overlooks Mau and they capture it. The vanguard of this force was Najabat Khan. On getting this *Farman,* the Said Khan was deputed from the foot of the pass of Noorpur on (9th November, 1641A.D), and put his tents on the Mau mountain on the road to Ropar and sent his two sons Sadullah Khan and Abdullah with a following of his own *Tabinan* from the right, Zulfiqar Khan and *Barqandazan* of the *sarkar* from the left to the height of the mountain to fix the encampment. On reaching there they realized that without cutting the jungle it was not possible.[141] At that time, about 4000-5000 foot musketeers and archers came from the mountain Rainkoh and attacked them. Due to the forest, it was not possible for the imperialist army to combine together to attack, so they defended against them in small groups. On the second day, Khan Zafar Jang and the persons accompanying him went upon Ropar and remained engaged in cutting the forests and strengthening the routes. For fear of the Imperialist Army from that route, the enemies became available in more numbers in this sector in comparison of the others and began to fortify it. They raised strong walls and stable *Burj* and made holes for the fire of the muskets. [142]

On November 15, Najabat Khan who led the advance guard of Said Khan's army, reached the eminence commanding the defense opposite the garden of Raja Basu, where the enemy had posted a strong guard. Zulfiqar Khan and his musketeers charged them from one side and Nazar Bahadur Kheshgi, Sheikh Farid and Raja Man

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[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.264
[141] Ibid.
[142] Ibid., p.265

Singh from the other. The revels fought bravely and inflicted severe losses among the ranks of the invaders. The operation against Mau for the time being, were brought to a standstill. Raja Man Singh was detached to seize a neighboring fort, which he did successfully.[143]

In another centre of warfare, too, conditions were not very hopeful. Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan's progress almost to a stop at Noorpur.

The failure of the operations both against Mau and Noorpur, led Shahjahan to modify his plans slightly. He ordered Asalat Khan to Noorpur, and transferred Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan to Mau. Prince Murad was directed to leave Paithan, and go to Mau to supervise the siege personally.[144] This concentration of the Imperial efforts at one point frightened Jagat Singh and through Allah Vardi Khan, he sent his son Rajrup to the Prince to apologize for his conduct, and to beg for the royal clemency.[145] Having been assured of pardon he came and saw prince Murad, but during the interview he proposed some acceptable conditions, which were rejected and he was sent back with the remark that obedience did not lie in making demands of one's own liking. On returning back, he reverted back to his rebellious activities.[146]

Therefore, on getting orders to depart, Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Bahadur Khan along with the persons accompanying them moved towards Mau via the route of Gaughat and went on advancing daily slowly by cutting the forest and chastising the enemy. thereafter, when they reached near Mau, Jagat Singh along with his tribe and the other hill men went on fighting for five days and the imperialists; particularly Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Bahadur Khan showered upon them uncountable poison soaked arrows and muskets and the braves of the army of Bahadur Khan, with an ebullition of bravery, planted ladders at the feet of the heaps of the dead lying on the field and climbing up dauntlessly rushed towards the trenches of the enemies.[147] During those five days, about 700 *tabinan* of Bahadur Khan and about the similar numbers of other, braves were killed and wounded, a large following of the infidels were consigned to

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[143] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*,p.98
[144] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.264
[145] Ibid. p.269
[146] Ibid. p.270
[147] Ibid.

the hell.[148] Though all the Imperial forces fought bravely but Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan, Rustam Khan and Bahadur Khan excelled in glory among all of them. This expedition had become extended too long, A *Farman* was issued by the Emperor that Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Bahadur Khan should chastise the destined to be vanquished and move towards the foot of the fort like human waves and the other forces should wipe out the enemies lying in the forest and coverage upon the fort and carry out the fort by an assault.[149]

Meanwhile, on December 13, Prince Murad Bakhsh carried the hill overlooking the fort, and ordered a general assault. Jai Singh and Allah Vardi Khan delivered the attack on the Darrah side and entered in the fort; while Qulij Khan led the attack from the left. Other officers entered in the forest on the right side and gained the hills commanding the fort. Jagat Singh's courage, failed him, and he fled to Taragad. The garrison of Noorpur lost heart, and evacuated the fort, which was occupied. Though the main part of Jagat Singh's territories had been occupied. The campaign had not come to an end. He was still holding the hill fort of Taragadh.[150] On 17th December, 1641A.D, the Prince as per order, Pirthi Chand, *zamindar* of Champa, who joined the Imperial service during the course of these operations.[151]

The siege of Taragadh opened early in January 1642 A.D and lasted for two months. Although the Imperialists could make little headway, Jagat Singh grew tired and sent his son Rajrup to Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan, to request the latter to intercede on his behalf with the Prince and the Emperor, and secure the restoration his *mansab* and states. On the recommendation of Prince Murad, Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan was sent to fetch Jagat Singh. When he reached Taragadh, Jagat Singh admitted him into the fort, and gave a banquet in his honour, to which Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan also invited. Shortly after orders arrived for the demolition of the fortifications of Taragadh, which created a difference among the Imperial Officers. Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan were for carrying out the orders immediately, but Khan-i-Jahan counseled delay. The attitude of Bahadur Khan and Asalat Khan irritated Jagat Singh and he said to them, "You were able to enter the fort because I led you into it. Even now not much is lost. I

[148] Ibid., p.271
[149] Ibid.
[150] Ibid., p.272
[151] Ibid., p.273

present the outer fortifications to Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and I am retiring behind the second line of defense. Let me see how you can overcome me"[152] upon this Khan-i-Jahan wrote to Shahjahan, after received the letter, Shahjahan issued *Farman* at the Prince solicitation, directing that certain portions of that stronghold, which comprehended three distinct forts, should be left standing for the shelter of his relatives and property; but that the remainder should be laid in ruins. Moreover, fort Mau and the defenses of Noorpur were also to be desolated.[153] On receipt of this order, Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan went and stayed two days in Taragarh. After having the outer fortifications demolished in his own presence. After demolishing the outer fortifications, and leaving his son-in-law Sayyid Firoz to raze the ground, remaining parapets and forts. Khan-i-Jahan came to the Prince with Jagat Singh[154].

Jagat Singh was presented to the Emperor a week letter, and his rank was restored. He passed the rest of his life in the service of the crown. The Prince Murad got a robe of honour after reaching in the presence of the Emperor.[155]

**Minor Conquests or Rebellions**

There were many minor disturbances occurred during the Shahjahan's reign.

**Hugli**- During the reign of *Banagalian,* a group of *Bazarganan-i-Firangi* (European Merchants) living in Senedib (Ceylon) started coming to Satgaon for the purpose of trade. They started coming during the time of Akbar, in 1537 A.D, some Portuguese merchants secured the grant of the side of Hugli the ruler of Bengal.[156]

On the pretext of requiring a site for their commercial transactions, they requested permission to construct temporary dwellings in the banks of the estuary at one *kos* distance on the passing away from Satgaon. With the passage of time and due to the ignorance and carelessness of the government, *Vilayat-i-Bangalah*, the number of *Firangis* greatly increased. They constructed strong and substantial houses and

[152] Ibid.
[153] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.289
[154] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.274, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahanama*, p.289, B.P.Saksena, p.102
[155] Ibid.
[156] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, p.434

fortified them with cannon and matchlock and other instruments of war and it became quite flourishing with a short space of time and was named Hugli[157].

On one side of the Hugli, was a river and they dug up ditches filled with water on its three sides and the place of visiting of the ships of *Firangis* and their buying and selling became fixed at that place and the market of Satgaon suffered with dullness and fell from selling well and splendor.[158] The *Firangis* residing at Bandar Hugli, gained control of all the villages and *Parganas* is surrounding the port. On both side of the estuary, paying only a trifling rent to the government.[159]

They began converting the inhabitants of that locality into Christianity, partly by force and partly by persuasion, and shipped them off to their own settlements. The Emperor had come to know about all theses things indulged in by the Christians of the port of Hugli prior to his accession, he had determined to root and wipe out the mischief of these persons from that region after his accession.[160]

After becoming Emperor, he had appointed Qasim Khan to the *subedar* of those regions (*Subedar-i-Bangalah*) and ordered to first of all dispose off the important affairs of that extensive Province and demolish, the places of worship and dwelling as soon as ever he could find leisure from other important duties. For which, he should send the forces both by land and water so that this difficult task could be easily and speedily accomplished.[161]

He sent his son with his military commander Allah Yar Khan and other auxiliaries to capture Bandar Hugli. Bahadur Khan, who was incharge of civil administration, was also dispatched in that direction on the pretext of seizing the crown land of Makhsudabad; while the governor Qasim Khan resolved to repair thither himself subsequently.[162] On hearing this, *Firangis* marched of his army should put their families and property on board ship and thus escape. Qasim Khan gave out that the object of the expedition was to plunder and ravage Hugli. He further directed Allah Yar Khan and his comrades to halt along the way at Bardwan; they were waiting there

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[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] Ibid.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.

until intelligence was received from Khwaja Sher, Masoom *Zamindar*, and Salih Kambu, who had been appointed to proceed boats by way of Bandar Serampur along with a detachment of Qasim Khan, with a view to cut off the retreat of the *Firangis*. After the latter contingent had arrived safely at Mohana near the mouth of the Hugli estuary.[163] When Allah Yar Khan learned that this second party had reached, he made a forced to march from Bardwan and in 24 hours arrived at a place lying between Satgaon and Hugli, where he was joined by Bahadur Kambu with 500 cavalry and considerable body of infantry from Maksudabad. He then proceeded for the purpose of blockading the mouth of the estuary to the spot where Khwaja Sher and his party were positioned. There he threw a bridge of the boats across a narrow channel between Bandar Hugli and the sea, so that no vessel could sail out of the estuary. Thus intercepting the only means of escape for the *Firangis*.[164]

20th June 1632, Allah Yar Khan made a forced march to Hugli and a established a land ward blockade of the Portuguese colony on all three sides; the river side has already been blockaded by the construction of a boat bridge downstream of the colony to cut off the seaward approach. The Portuguese, however, decided to offer resistance. The Mughals killed Christians settled around the fort and closely invested the fort for three and a half months. The Portuguese had 7,000 soldiers inside the fort who regularly engaged the besiegers with musket fire. The Portuguese proposed establishing a treaty of peace and even paid down about one *lakh* of rupees as a preliminary arrangement. But at the same time, they engaged in hostile measures and kept 6,000-7,000 of their matchlockmen engaged constantly discharging their firearms. The Mughals drained the moat which was connected to the Hugli and from their trenches bored three mines under the walls. The enemy discovered two of them and took counter measures but the third exploded under a large building where many Portuguese were killed. Others made for ships and boats on the river. When Mughal boats approached to intercept them, a large ship was blown up to prevent its capture. The explosion caused the boat bridge to catch fire[165].

Out of the total of 64 large river vessels (*Dinga*), 57 medium craft (*Gharab*) and 200 small boats belonging to the *Firangis*, only one *gharab* and two small boats escaped.

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[163] Ibid.
[164] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.437
[165] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.438, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.87

Those who escaped being burned or drowned were captured by the warriors of Mughal army. The Mughal lost thousand soldiers. Some of the prisoners were executed; others were offered the choice of conversion. 14,400 locals enslaves by the Portuguese were set free. Portuguese behavior with the local population fully deserved such punishment. The siege lasted three and one half months[166].

**Little Tibbet**- Among the minor disturbances during the Shahjahan's reign, one of the most prospering event that of 'Little Tibet'. It rose in 1638 A.D. During the Jahangir's reign, an attempt was made by Hashim Khan (Governor of Kashmir) son of Qasim Khan (*Mir Bahr*), to reduce this country. He collected an army of soldiers and *Zamindars*, and set out on that expedition but he completely failed in his attempt and great number of hid force were killed and poisoned, he affected a disastrous retreat.[167]

Shahjahan however, was tempted to repeat the effort and he achieved some measures of success. Zafar Khan, the Governor of Kashmir, volunteered for the duity and received his majesty's permission to conquer Tibet. After completing the arrangement of campaign, he assembled an army of about 2,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry out of the provincial troops, with his own followers, those of the *Zamindars*.[168] Zafar Khan marched in that direction by the Gurach route, which is a distance of 64 imperial *kos* to Tibet. After having difficulties of the road, he reached the village of Sadpara. By throwing a Dam across this, the enemy had formed a large lake which blocked up the road through the centre of the pass, while on both sides there were precipices. On one side, where it was just possible to climb the steep ascent, they had built up a strong wall of stone and mortar from the water's edge to the summit of the mountain so as to present anyone from passing that way. The opposite side being naturally so inaccessible as not to require the precaution. The natives of Tibet had fortified this place long ago. In fact, it was at this very spot that Hashim Khan, when he marched against Tibet, was defeated and forced to retreat.[169]On the arrival of the royal army in the vicinity of Tibet, Abdul, the *Zamindar* of Tibet had come himself with a large

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[166] Gurcharan Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*,p.544
[167] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part.II, p.282, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.213, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-C, f.413
[168] Ibid.
[169] Ibid.

force and posted his men along the heights to disputes their passage. Zafar Khan divided his army into three distinct columns.[170]

First column consisted of Kunwar Singh, the Raja of Kishtwar, Mohammad Zaman and other *Zamindars*. This column was dispatched against the enemy occupying the heights on the right. The second column consisted of Murad Beg Khurd and other officers, to attack the heights on the left. Third column was managed by Shahdman Pakhliwal, Adam Tibaati and *mansabdars*. This column was directed to advance guard.[171]

Zafar Khan marched in that direction by the Gurach route, which is a distance of 64 imperial *kos* to Tibbet. After having difficulties of the roads, he reached the village of Satpara, by throwing a dam across this, the enemy had formed a large lake which blocked up the road through the centre of the pass, while on both sides there were frowning precipices.[172] When the advance guard reached at the edge of the lake, the *Tibbatis* started firing their guns upon there from behind the wall. Shadman Pakhliwal, commander of the advance guard, he placed his trust in divine providence and advance in that direction closely followed by the rest. As soon as, Zafar Khan was informed, he decided to march towards the lake and leaving Dost Beg Kabuli and Khwaja Gul to take care of the camp. He started off towards the lake, along with Qazi Mohammad Qasim (*Bakhshi* of the Province of Kashmir).[173]Since the enemies position was very strong and inaccessible. Abdul had that day sent up a group of men to crest of the hill with that direction, the member of royalist casualties from the shower of stones and bullets was considerable. The same night Zafar Khan sent a messenger to bring the camp to the lake, to prepare for another attack before day break. Abdul learned that the royalist army would mount the heights at early dawn, when he would be utterly destroyed. Therefore at midnight he availed himself of an opportunity to flee with three or four of his confidential associates, without any other person being aware of it, and threw himself inside the fort of Ali Rai[174].

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[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.
[174] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-C, f.414

Zafar Khan having entered with his comrades, ordered the wall to be knocked down, but most of the *Tibbatis* fled away from there. From where Zafar Khan marched towards *pargana* Skardu, which marks the commencement of the Tibet and it is situated six *kos* from Sadpara, on this side the river Nilab, Zafar Khan encamped near the fort of Ali Rai. This fort is situated along the ridge of a lofty mountain, whose summit is extremely difficult of access. The ride is bounded on the north side by the Nilab River, and two of its peaks. Ali Rai had built a couple of forts, to each of which there is one narrow pathway, which can be easily blockaded by five or six matchlock men. The higher one is called Garewcha, lower one is known as Gajnak. Abdul had shut himself in this and Muhammad Murad, his *wakil* and factotum, was put in the other fort to defend it.[175]

Zafar Khan saw the loftiness and strength of the two forts; he realized that it would be difficult to capture them. But the whole period for military operations in the Tibbet does not exceed two months, if an army was to stay longer those two months, the passes would become closed by the snow. For these reasons, and also because the soldiery and peasantry of Tibbat were extremely disconnected with Abdul's rule. In pursuance of this sound determination, Zafar Khan deputed Mir Fakhar al-Din Muhammad Tafrishi, his chief minister, to proceed with Farhad Beg Baloch and about 4,000 horse and foot against fort Shigar; while he himself remained to look after Abdul. He nest sent the latter's brother Adam Khan, along with other Tibbatis who were included in the circle of the devoted servants of the crown and some *zamindars* of Kashmir who had friends and acquaintances among the natives of the country, to try and persuade the Tibbat soldiery to tender their allegiance to His majesty by inspiring hopes of the rewards and favors. He then appointed a force to take ground in front of each of the two forts.[176]

When Mir Fakhar al-din had received permission from Zafar Khan to start, he marched to the bank of the Nilab, where he collected a vast number of timbers and planks and constructed some boats. As the *Tibbatis* had built up a wall on the opposite side of the ferry and posted a party of matchlockmen behind it in order to oppose the passage of the army, the Mir in question embarked 2,000 men on the boats at

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[175] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part.II, p.285

[176] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part.II, p.286, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.215, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part-C, f.416

midnight and sent them under the guidance of some natives of the place with instructions to float down the stream and disembark wherever they could obtain a landing. Then by falling upon the party who held the opposite bank, they were to wrest the position out of their hands.[177]

The detachment used the utmost expedition and came unawares upon the enemy guarding the ferry. The latter were at once dispersed, some being killed and some saving their lives by a hurried flight. The Mir then crossed the Nilab with all his troops and approached fort Shigar perched on the crest of a lofty eminence. Having encamped at the foot of the hill, he busied himself in preparing for an assault. Abdul's elder son , a youth in his fifteenth year, who held the fort with a numerous garrison of local troops, imagined Mir Fakhr al-Din's force to be weak and came out the next day at the head of a detachment with intent to give battle.[178] The Mir advanced boldly up the hill with his comrades and opposed the further progress of his adversaries. Whereupon a fierce struggle ensued on the hill side and deeds of valore were performed by both parties with unflinching energy and courage. And though the Tibbatis were on the elevation and the victorious army below, many of the enemy fell prey to the sword, whilst among the royalists, Fahad Beg Baloch was wounded and some of Zafar Khan's followers sacrificed their lives.[179]

The at length began to waver and losing heart, fled back in to the fort. The victory pursued them as far as the gate facing towards Skardu, outside which they threw up entrenchment and look positions. The mind of Abdul's son was prostrated by terror and apprehension at the success of the royalists and their opening the trenches, that night from the gate facing towards Kashgar, he hastened towards the place. Next morning, Mir Fakhar learned of this and entered the fort with his comrades, Abdul's wives and children prisoners.[180]

After receiving intelligence of the victory, Zafar Khan immediately applied himself more eagerly than ever to capture of forts Garewcha and Gajnak. Zafar Khan opened pacific negotiations with Abad himself, through the agency of Kunwar Singh the Raja

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[177] Ibid.
[178] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-C, f.417
[179] Ibid.
[180] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part.II, p.287, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.216, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-C, f.418

of Kishtwar and Shadman Pakhliwal, so as to distract his attention from the fort, on the appointed day; he sent a detachment under the command of Adam Khan and Mohammad Zaman his son-in-law. No sooner did they reach their destination than Muhammad Murad, the governor, came out with all his men and delivered up the stronghold to the royalists.[181] Abdul had already become almost hopeless at the desertion of his partisans and the capture of his wife and children.

Zafar Khan persuaded the Abdul to acknowledge the Mughal sovereignty, and to read the *Khutba* in the Emperor's name and the Abdul paid one million of rupees as indemnity. The victory in 'Little Tibbat' was gained more by underhand and treacherous means than by force of arms. But far more important than the submission of the Abdul was the apprehension of the families of Habib Chak and Ahmad Chak. The latter had proved a source of immense mischief in Kashmir, during the viceroyalty of Itiqad Khan, and was now sent by the Abdul to threaten the rear of the Imperial army and intercept their supplies. But Habib Chak was still in Tibet, and he surrendered to Zafar Khan with his hundred followers. Being apprehensive of an outbreak in his province, Zafar Khan immediately returned to Kashmir with the Abdul and Chak captives.[182]

**Assam or conquest of Kuch Haju**- When Shahjahan ascended the throne, the political condition on the north-eastern frontier was by no means free from complication. To the north of the Bengal , two *subas (vilayat)* are situated one out of it is Kuch Haju, which is situated on the bank of river Brahmaputra and comes towards Bengal right through the middle of Assam. The second is called Kuch Bihar, which is much away from the river and from this country the travelers enter Jahangirnagar in 20 days[183].

Kuch Bihar was ruled by Vir Narayan son of Lakshmi Narayan and Kuch Haju was under Parichhat. Kamrup was in the nominal charge of a Mughal officer Sheikh Zahid, no trouble occurred in theses regions for about a decade, because of the reluctant of the Ahom king of Assam to involve himself unnecessarily in a quarrel with the Mughals by interfering with the politics of Kamrup[184] and offered asylum to

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[181] Ibid.
[182] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.217, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part-C, f.419
[183] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.64, Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama,* p.232
[184] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*,p.115,

run away officers. Vir Narayan, the ruler of Kuch Bihar with the active assistance of the Ahoms attacked Kamrup and forced out Mughal officials.

It was perpetuate this peaceful atmosphere that Qasim Khan the governor of Bengal sent a messenger with an Assamese merchant to the Ahom king. But the latter, under the influence of some interested councilors, ordered the mediating merchant to be killed, and declined to receive the Mughals. Thus started a conflagration which lasted for about two years, and occasioned a frightful loss of life and treasure.[185]

The Mughals, who were unprepared for the attack, were soon driven out of Kamrup, and its capital Haju was occupied by the invaders. After the death of Qasim Khan, Shahjahan conferred the government of Bengal upon Islam Khan. After assuming his new post, Islam Khan had sent a warning to Baldeo through Shatrujit, the *thanedar* of Pandu. As the new governor, all would go well for him provided he returned at once to his duity.[186] He dispatched effective reinforcement to Kamrup, and his officers put Bali Narayan and his supporters to flight. Bali Narayan died, while the Mughals operations were still going on, and thus a great source of mischief in the eastern regions was removed.[187]To revenge themselves on the Ahom king for all the trouble he had stirred up in Kamrup, the imperialists decided to carry war into Assam and push the Mughal frontiers as for east as possible. After thus resuming the control of the towns and villages of Kuch Haju, the servants of the crown dispatched a contingent of cavalry and infantry; they attacked the Ahom outpost of Kajli and occupied it. Leaving a strong garrison at Kajli, the Mughal advanced further and stopped at Samdhara. The Ahom king now made feverish preparations to check the invaders. He adequately equipped and garrisoned the fort of Samdhara, and stood for a trial of strength with the enemy. The Mughals entering Assam had reckoned without their host. On the arrival of the royal army made their vessels cross over to the other bank for the purpose of punishing the garrison there, after the troops had rooted the rebels with little trouble, they subsequently crossed the river and demolished the forts, which had been erected by the insurgents in old time.[188] Following these victories, the royalists then built two forts of their own at Kajli, one on either side of the river. Fort

[185] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.64
[186] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.233
[187] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan*,p.115
[188] Inayat Khan, *Shahjahan Nama*, p.242

the protection of theses forts, garrison was appointed consisting of 1,000 cavalry, 3,000 infantry matchlockmen, a like number of *Payks*, and some *zamindars*. They now transferred the capital of Kamrup to Gauhati.[189]

Henceforward till 1658 A.D, the relations between the Mughals and the Ahom king remained peaceful.

**Ratanpur**- Eight regnal year of the first decade (1637 A.D) Shahjahan ordered Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jung (*Subedar* of Bihar) to chastise the *zamindars* of Ratanpur as per order and brought with him Babu Lachchhan, Marzban and other *zamindarans* of that environ and the booty which had fallen into his hands during the course of this assault and presented 1,000 *Ashrafis* as *nazar* of presenting himself at the court and 1,000 *Ashrafis* more for having accompanied the task assigned to him.[190] When Abadullah Khan reached the skirts of the hill of Bhaki (Katal Bhaki), which is situated at the distance of 60 *kos* from the Ratanpur on this side, Raja Amar Sing (*Zamindar* of Bandhu), joined him along with his followings. On the way the sympathizers of Babu Lachchhan obstructed his passage, but they were easily overcome by Abdullah Khan who invested the fort of Tiyunath. In a spirit of desperation the garrison killed their women and children and valiantly sallied out to fight with the enemy. They put up a brave resistance but they were overwhelmed by superior numbers and destroyed to a man. The imperialist occupied their stronghold, and Abdullah Khan set out for Ratanpur. Babu Lachchhan opened negotiations for peace through Amar Singh. Abdullah Khan sent Kavi Ray to assure him of the royal clemency. Babu Lachchhan submitted and went to court with Firoz Jung.[191]

**Pratap Ujjainias**- Pratap had got land which he had long aspired by serving in the imperial service but then he rebelled, Shahjahan ordered Abdullah Khan Bahadur Firoz Jang, *Subedar* of Bihar, to reduce the Pratap, *zamindar* of Ujjainis near Buxar. As per order, (early November , 1636 A.D), he along with his own Tabinan and Mukhtar Khan, *Tiyuldar* of Monghyr, a suburb of that *Suba*, and other *Padshahi* servants turned towards the wiping out of that rebel and to conquer his *vilayat*. In the meantime, Fidai Khan, as per order, too marched from Gorakhpur, which had been

[189] Ibid.
[190] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, p.74
[191] Ibid., p.75

fixed in his *tiyul*, also joined them, they conjointly first of all besieged the fort of Bhojpur, where the *hakim* of that land resides and where Pratap had fortified himself.[192] Due to the stability of the fort and the existence of an inaccessible forest around it, abundance of musketeers and archers, the siege dragged on for 6 months and daily exchanges of cannons and guns were exchanged by both the sides. At last proper operations of Abdullah Khan Bahadur and the exertions of the warriors.[193] The imperial army reached there close on their hills. Mukhtar Khan, who was the vanguard of this force, formed his entrenchment at its gate and others surrounded it from three sides and started battle. How much-so-ever Pratap delivered attacks to get a space to escape but the warriors blunted his attacks and prevented him to do so and killed some of his companions, till the morning of the next day, initially, he thought of performing the *Jauhar* and die fighting but then he became perturbed and offered to surrender, as per their custom, he gave up weapons and dress and became clad only in a *lungi,*[194] leading his wife by her hand. Abdullah Khan ordered him to prison, and sent a report of his success to court. Shahjahan ordered that Pratap should be executed, and his wife should be handed over to a Muslim officer[195].

**Malwa-** In the Malwa, the Gonds and Bhils gave occasional trouble to the imperial officers.

**Conquest of the fort of Khana Khairi-** it is situated in the region of Malwa**.** In 1632 A.D, Bhagirath Bhil, the *zamindar* of Khana Khairi, did not obey and comply with the orders of the previous Subedars due to the abundance of his following and the stability of his fort, committed certain excesses. The governor (*Subedar*) of Malwa, Nasiri Khan marched to punish him. This alarmed Bhagirath, who sought the mediation of his neighbor Sangram, the *zamindar* of Kunar, to intercede for him. He promised to be loyal and obedient, and pay a regular subsidy in return for the possession of the fort which for a long time had been his home. Further he begged to be excused personal attendance at court. But these evasive terms did not satisfy Nasiri Khan and he resumed his march. When he reached near the fort of Khana Khairi, Bhagirath lost courage and surrendered the fort on a promise of pardon and safe

[192] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part.II, p.272, Qazvini, Part-C, ff.407-408
[193] Ibid.
[194] Ibid.
[195] Ibid.

conduct. Nasiri Khan occupied the fort, and recited the *Khutba* in the name of Emperor[196].

**Gadhwal and Kumaon**- The hilly states of Ghadwal and Kumaon also attracted the attention of the Mughal Emperors, and occasionally attempts were made to subdue them. Before Shahjahan, the Raja of Kumaon, continued loyal to the Mughal Empires, The earliest attempt made in the reign of Shahjahan to subdue Gadhwal was in 1635A.D, when Najabat Khan, the *Faujdar* of Kanda, requested permission to invade Srinagar. Najabat Khan entered the Sirmur hills, seized Shirgadh on the Jumna, and subdued the country up to Hardwar[197]. Here he crossed the Ganges, entered Gadhwal, and arrived within six miles of Srinagar. The Raja deceived him with a promise to pay a million of rupees as tribute, and detained him among the hills. He closed the line of retreat to the Mughals, hemmed them in and destroyed their army to a man. Only Najabat Khan escaped to report the disaster to court. He was removed from the *faujdari* of Kangda[198].

**Palamau**- The Palamau district like, like the surrounding country, was a confused aggregation of jungle-clad hills offshoots from the Chutanagpur plateau, and of the fertile valleys between them, it was held by the Cheros, a Kolarian tribe, and their Raja at the time was Partap.[199]

Partap had annoyed the chiefs of his tribe due to his bad behavior; they became bent upon his wiping out and in the beginning of the posting of Itiqad Khan (*subedar* of Bihar) who succeeded Shayista Khan was approached by two *Chero* chiefs, Darya Rai and Tej Rai (paternal uncles of Partap), come to Patna and met Itiqad Khan and it was agreed that Partap should be secured and brought to him.[200] Accordingly, they went to Palamau and arrested Partap with the help of the other following and Tej Rai became the chief of that tribe. When Itiqad Khan asked him to full fill his promise, he procrastinated. But Tej Rai could not hold his own for long. Partap remained under the confinement till Darya Rai and a group of the other leading persons of that group

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[196] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, pp.449-450, Qazvini, Part-B,ff.259-260
[197] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part.II, p. 90
[198] Ibid., p.92
[199] B.P.Saksena, *History of Shahjahan of Dilli,* p.118
[200] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p. 357

of Chiru, turned against Tej Rai[201]. The *Subedar* Itiqad Khan tried to salvage the issue through consoling them till Darya Rai and others sent a message that if an army was sent with a confident, they would hand over the fort of Devkan, which was the *Thanah-i-kalaun* of Palamua.[202] Itiqad Khan sent Zabrdast Khan with the *marzban*( Zamindar) of Shahabad. They reached Devkan, Dariya Khan with his sons and some other *chero* chiefs, came out to meet them, and surrendered the fort. Zabardast Khan sent Dariya Khan and his followers to Patna, and began to strengthen his position in Devkan. He won over by rewards the obedient and punished the stubborn and recalcitrant. He sent a group to clear the forests and widen the road to Palamau.[203] On 15th October, the Said Khan got the information that Tej Rai, sent his *vakil* Madan Singh with some of the courtiers and about 6000 horse and 8000 foot to mauza bawli Chivan, 5 kos to the south of Devkan and sent two more armies in the direction of Mordah and Kundah, to check the imperialists, and that the former party mediated a surprise attack in the night. Zabardast Khan waited for the enemy, and repulsed them.[204]

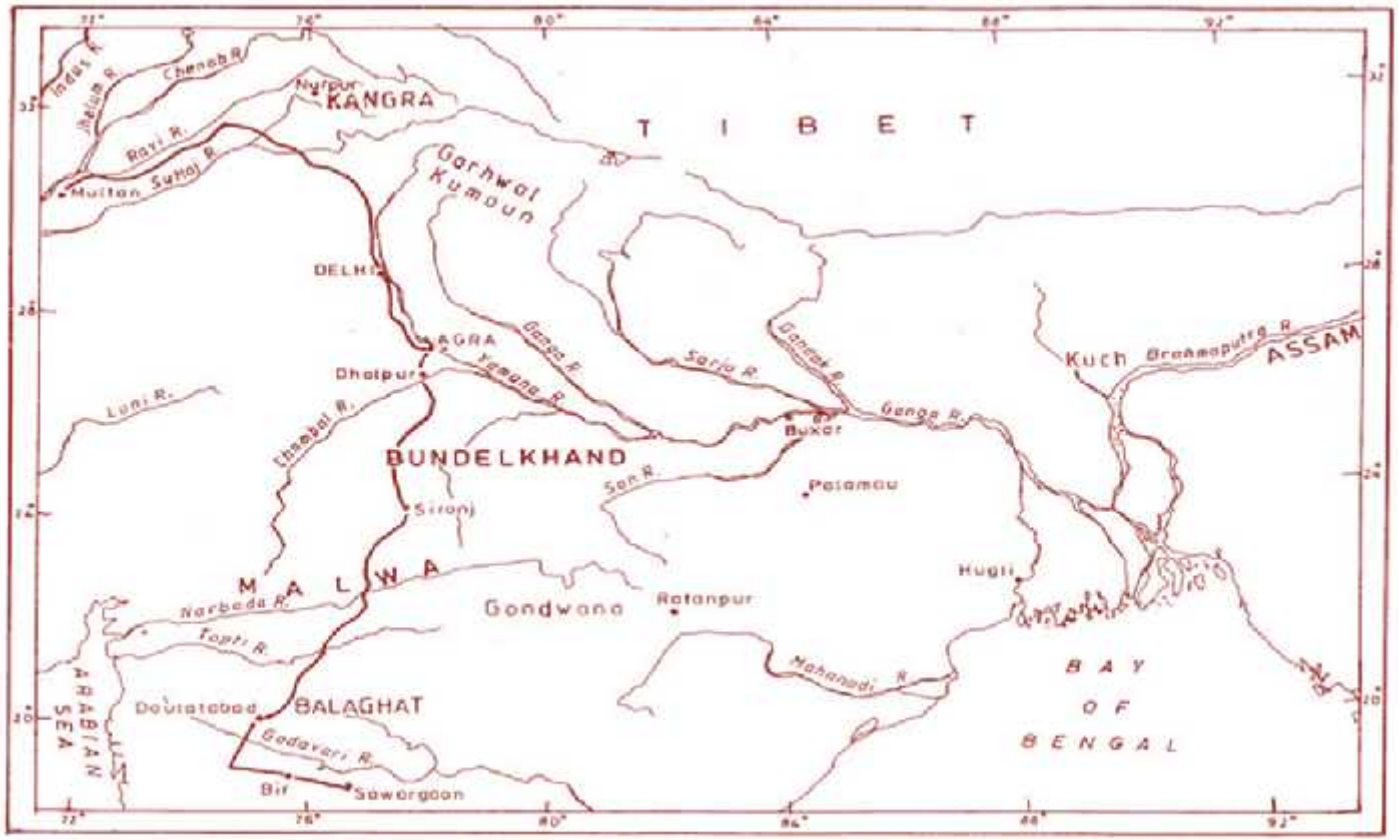
Itiqad Khan heard it and sent Abdullah Najm Sani (*Bakhshi* of Bihar) to reinforce his men in Devkan. But before the latter arrived at his destination a revolution had occurred in Palamau. In the absence of Tej Rai came out of the fort of Palamau for hunting. Surat Singh and Sabal Singh, sons of Madan Singh, released Partap and surrendered to him the protagonist of his rival. Tej Rai now became a homeless wanderer flying from place to place and seeking shelter among forests and hills. His *vakil* Madan Singh was reduced to a similar flight. Upon this Zabardast Khan marched to Palamau, leaving Devkan in the hands of Dhirendra Ujjainia.[205] He crossed the dense forests and arrived at Mangadh when he received a humble letter to of submission and obedience from Partap. But Zabardast Khan replied that he could trust to his words only if he consented to accompany him to Patna. Partap demurred to this proposal. Zabardast Khan now warned him of the fateful consequences after the arrival of Vaqar Khan. This alarmed Partap who agreed to the terms and set out with Zabardast Khan. They met Vaqar Khan on the way. At Patna, Partap agreed to pay an

[201] Ibid.
[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., p.358
[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid., p.359

indemnity of one *lakh* of rupees, and Itiqad Khan recommended him for a *mansab* to the government.[206]As per his (Itiqad Khan) request , the Emperor granted him the *mansab* of 1,000 *zat* and 1,000 *sawar* and the Palamau was settled foe a *jama* of one crore dam as his *tiyul*. Thus Palamau for the time being escaped the calamity which befell it later on in the succeeding reign.[207]

Briefly, the four major rebellions, i,e. Khan-i-Jahan, Jujhar Singh, Champat Rai, and Raja Jagat Singh and many minor disturbances are In Malwa, Litle Tibbat, Ratanpur and many other rebellions occurred under Shahjahan. In first regnal year, a culprit was the Bundela chief Jujhar Singh. A rebellion which caused much more trouble was in the Deccan by Khan-i-Jahan Lodi, who held out for 16 months, another rebellion Champat Rao of Mahoba who made incursions into Mughal territory was suppressed. After prolonged defiance, he submitted through the intercession of Pahar Singh, another son of Bir Singh Deo. A rebellion by Raja Jagat Singh of Mau Nurpur and his son finally suppressed and he was obliged to submit in 1641A.D.

[206] Ibid., p.360
[207] Ibid., p.361




**Map 05: Showing Routes Related to Suppression of Rebellions**

## Chapter- 3

# METHODS OF WARFARE: STRATEGY AND TACTICS

The Mughal Emperors established their Empire in the 15th century and expanded it to its greatest extent at the beginning of the 18th century with the help of highly effective armed forces. Although its origins, like the Mughals themselves, were in the cavalry-based armies of central Asia, its essential form and structure was established by the Empire's third Emperor, Akbar. The army had no regimental structure and the soldiers were not directly recruited by the Emperor. Instead, individuals, such as nobles or local leaders, would recruit their own troops, referred to as a *mansab*, and contribute them to the army. Like many Central Asian armies, the Mughal army was horse-oriented. The ranks and pay of the officers were based on the horses they retained. Babur's army was somewhat small and looked like an army of Afghan origin. Akbar restructured the army and introduced a new system called the *mansabdari* system. Later Emperors followed this system. Shahjahan used the same time tested distribution of troops, tactics of war and deployment for battle which was employed by his ancestors.

**Battle Order (*Saff-Arastan)***

The Mughal Emperors were followed the Timur's battle strategy, however, modifications were made in it form time to time. During Shahjahan's reign, there were no changes has been visible in the system of the army. The ranging of an army in order of battles was known as *saff-arastan*, *saff-* standing in a row, rank, or file.[1]*Arastan* means to adorn or to be able[2].The number of actual divisions of the army was increased, when a great battle was imminent, it was the duity of the first *Bakhshi* (commander in chief), The *Bakhshi-ul-Mumalik*[3], to draw up a scheme of attack, dividing the force in to divisions, assigning to each position and naming the leaders of each. If the King accompanied the army, the *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik* presented before him on the morning of a battle the muster roll and the number of troops under each commander. *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik* also determined the plans of the army and assigned

[1] F.Steingass, A comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary, Oriental Books Reprint corporation, 1981, p.787
[2] Ibid.
[3] *Mamalik* means kingdom or Province.

posts to the commanders in the Van, Centre, Right, and Left wings, and the rearguard.[4]If any officer erred in his post, the *Bakhshi-ul-Mamaik* changed him at once from his position. The *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik* had under him a number of *Bakhshis*, who were deputed to every division, [5]i.e., in the second siege of Qandahar 1652 A.D. Sadullah Khan was *Bakhshi-ul-Mamalik,* other wings were commanded by first and second *Bakhshis.*[6] The duties of the *Bakhshi*, I have discussed in the fifth chapter.

Sometimes the King settled the plan of the battle in his capital before the dispatch of the armies, and it was strictly adhered to on the battlefield.[7] In the war of succession the Princes of Shahjahan personally arranged and supervised the files of their fighting forces.[8] Every file of the army was under a *Sardar* or *Salar*[9]. The file was divided into several divisions called *Qushun*[10] or *Tuman* or *Chowki*. Every division was commanded by a separate officer. (These officers were the *Mansabdars* called *Amir* or *Beg*).[11]

The *Bakhshi* laid the proposed distribution before the Emperor and his approval obtained. The day before the battle, the *Bakhshi* also caused musters to be made, and an abstract of this present state was laid before the Emperor.[12]

Following division of the army in the battle field prevailed from the reign of Babur[13], this method followed by his successors. Shahjahan followed the same system of the division of the army. i.e., in the second siege of Qandahar, 1652 A.D. they had the following order. His forces consisted of 12,000 horsemen.[14]

1. *Qarawal* (Skirmishers)- It had two sections

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[4] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,* New Delhi, 2003, p. 46
[5] Ibid.
[6] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p. 463
[7] Abd-al-Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol. II, ed., Mawlavi Kabir ud din Ahmad and Abd -al-Rahim, college press Calcutta,1867, p. 482, Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *Amal-i-Salih,* vol.II, Club Road Lahore,1958, p.462
[8] Hashim Ali Khan or Khafi Khan Nizamul Mulk, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* vol.II, tr., Mohammad Ahmad Farooqui, Nafees Academy, Karachi, 1963, pp.20.26,50
[9] Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, Majlis-i-Tarraqi Adab, Narsingdas Garden, Club Road, Lahore, 1958., p.482
[10] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol. II, pp. 43, 674, *Qushun* means an army or military station , F.Steingass, op.cit., p. 971
[11] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,* op.cit, p. 47
[12] Ibid.
[13] *Babur Nama (* Memoirs of Babur), tr. A.S.Beveridge, vol.I & II, Oriental Books, New Delhi, 1922, pp.472-473
[14] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* pp. 464-465

2. *Harawal* ( Vanguard)
3. *Jaranghar* (Left wing). It was divided into three sections- (i) *Harawal-i-Jaranghar* (The Vanguard of the left wing).
   (ii) *Chapawal-i-Jaranghar* (Left side of the Left wing).
   (iii) *Shaqawal-i-Jaranghar* (Right side of the left wing).
4. *Baranghar* (Right Wing)- it had also three sections-
   (i) *Harawal-i-Baranghar* (The vanguard of the right wing).
   (ii) *Chapawal-i-Baranghar* (left side of the right wing).
   (iii) *Sahqawal-i-Barabghar* (Right side of the right wing)
5. *Qol* (Centre).[15]

   If the army consisted of Horsemen numbering from 12,000 to 40,000 the order was as follows.[16]

1) *Qarawal* (Skirmishers). It had two sections-(a) *Qarawal-i-Dast-i-Rast* (The skirmishers of the right hand).
   (b) *Qarawal-i-Dast-i-Chap* (The skirmishers of the left wing).
2) *Harawal-i-Buzurg* (The chief vanguard). It had also a *Harawal-i-Harawa*l (the van of the vanguard).
3) *Jaranghar* (left wing)- it had three sections-(i) *Harawal-i-Jaranghar* (The van of the left wing).
   (ii) *Shaqawal-i-Jaranghar* (the right side of the left wing).
   (iii)*Harawal-i-Sahqawal-i-Jaranghar* (The van of the right side left wing).
4) *Baranghar* (Right Wing)- it had also three sections-
   (i) *Harawal-i-Baranghar* (The vanguard of the right wing).
   (ii) *Chapawal-i-Baranghar* (left side of the right wing).
   (iii) *Harawal-i-Chapawal-i-Baranghar* (van of the left side of the right side wing).
5) *Qol* (Centre): it had two sides-(i) *Dast-i-Rast-i-Qol* (The right hand of the centre).
   (ii) *Dast-i-Chap-i-Qol* (The left hand of the centre)
6) *Aqab* (The Rearguard).[17]

[15] Ibid.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

First came the Skirmishers (*Qarawal*) and scouts, whose duity was to know the secrets of the enemy, and in case of conflict to offer battle. Skirmishers (*Qarawal*) is defined as a sentinel, watchman, spy and a hunter etc.[18]. Skirmishers form the first and the foremost part of the army, and went ahead of the main part of it. As their main duty was to hunt out the different positions of the enemy forces, they were called '*Qarawalan'* or the hunters of the enemies. i.e., Prince Iqbal Buland (Dara Shikoh) appointed Mirza Raja Jai Singh as the leader of this force in the third Siege of Qandahar 1653A.D.[19] usually; these people constituted a part of the advance guard and were variously called *Harawal-i-Harawal*. Their main duity was to bring daily reports of the enemy to the Army commander.[20]

In the days of Babur's successor the terms for the order of battle underwent slight alterations. *Qarawal* (Skirmishers) was invariably called *Moqaddamat-ul-Jaish*[21], *Manqala*, *Taliah* and *Talayah.*[22] For *Harawal* no fresh term was used.

In the line of the battle order, next the  Artillery in a line, chained together by ropes made of iron or hides of animals, protected by rocket-man and sheltered by a rough field work, possible the guns being also chained together.[23]

Breast works were also raised under cover of which the racketeers showered their weapons upon the enemy. Behind the guns was advanced guard (*Harawal*), and then came the right and left wings of the army. At a small distance was the Advance of the center (*Iltimish*) and then the center itself. It was here that the Mughal Emperor or his commanders was stationed with his selected force. There were the flanking parties (*Tarah*) on both sides of the center; behind it was the reserve force. It kept guard on the camp of the army, and in emergency fought against the advancing foe. The Mughals had a special tactic of employing a part of their army as an encircling force called '*Tulughma*'. It attacked the enemy from the rear.[24]

There were different wings of the army having their own technical names-

[18] F. Steingass, p. 967
[19] Amal-i-Salih, *ShahJahanama,* vol.III, *p.138*
[20] Ibid.
[21] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.688
[22] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,* p.43
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

**Vanguard**-this was also called either *Harawal* or *Muqaddamah-ul-Jaish*.[25] *Harawal* was the first line of both defense and offence. Its proper action in the battle-field often decided the issue in favour of the attacking army. It is commonly called *Manqalah*[26] it is said to have also the form *manqalah*, the latter a Mughal word meaning forehead, front.[27] It was also called *Iftali*.[28] If this force were big, it was divided into three parts like right, left and center.[29] i.e., in the second siege of Qandahar (1652 A.D), Army divided into three parts- Center was under the command of Sadullah Khan (Prime Minister), right wing under Mirza Raja Jai Singh and left wing was commanded by Mahabat Khan.[30]

**Advance-guard of Centre** (*Iltimish*[31]) -The Resume of the vanguard was called *Iltamash*.[32]This bore the Chaghtai name for the number sixty, that is *Iltimish*. Possible it may have originally consisted of this number of men, and the name having been once adopted.[33]

This force performed two duties. First, while acting on the offensive, it tried to destroy the enemy before its commander moved for final attack. Secondly, it the army was defeated, it checked the enemy from attacking its camp. An *Iltimish* was stationed midway between the advance-guard and center and acted as the front live of the latter.[34]

**Right Wing**-It was called *Baranghar,*[35] there are five names for this part of the army, two Arabic, one Chaghtai and two Persian. They are *Maimanh*[36], *Ansar-i-Maimanah, Baranghar, Dast-i-Rast, Taraf-i- Yamin.*[37]

It formed the right side of the main line of defense. Due to its proximity with center, the place of royal commander, a great noble or a prince was appointed to command it. Sometimes, when the number of soldiers in *Baranghar* was large, it was divided into

[25] F.Steingass, p. 1485, The Persian meaning of vanguard or *Harawal* is running footmen.
[26] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol. I, part-I, p.214
[27] F. Steingass, p. 1332
[28] William Irvine, op.cit., p. 225
[29] Raj Kumar Phul, op.cit., p. 243; Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p. 592
[30] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.464
[31] F. Steingass, p.94
[32] Abul Fazl, *Akbarnama*, vol.III, Naval Kishore, Lucknow,1883, p.425
[33] William Irvine, P. 226
[34] Raj Kumar Phul, p.243
[35] F.Steingass, p. 143
[36] Ibid., p. 1364
[37] William Irvine, p. 226

three parts called Advance of the right (*Harawal-i-Baranghar*), right wing proper (*Baranghar*), and right of the right wing (*baranghar-i-baranghar*.)[38]

When Aurangzeb started on the second expedition to Qandahar in 1652A.D, he had 4000, 3500, and 2500 men, respectively in these three parts of his right wing.[39]

**Left Wing**- In the same way of the left wing is referred to by five different names, the *Maisarah*[40], *Ansar-i-Maisarah*, *Jaranghar*, *Dast-i-Chap,*and *Janib-i-Yasar*.[41] *Jaranghar*, this term used in India during Mughal times, was a important part of the army in the battle field and was commanded either by a Prince or a great noble.[42] i.e. left wing was commanded by Mahabat Khan in the second siege of Qandahar campaign.[43]

They were used for the left side of the center, especially when the Emperor or a Prince commanded an army. This force was divided into three parts known as Advance of the left wing (*Harawal-i-Jaranghar)*, left wing proper (*Jaranghar*), and right of the left wing (*Baranghar-i-Jaranghar).*

Centre was the strongest part the army, and the Emperor or general directed movements of the army from here. It was termed as '*Qol'* or '*Ghol'* meaning a 'Multitude', and also 'a demon to devour men and animals. A successful dash by this wing often turned victory of the enemy in to a disastrous rout.[44]

*Tarah*[45]- devoted two flanking parties on both sides of the Centre. They were termed as *Tarah-i-Dast-i-Bast* (right flank), and *Tarah-i-Dast-Chap* (left flank), and were employed for two purposes. The first was to same the centre from being attacked from sides, and second, to surround and strike at the enemy. *Umq-ghul* and *Sul-ghul* were other two words for right and left flanks, respectively,[46] Rear-guard was also called *Chandawal*. It was generally responsible for the safety of the royal baggage including supplies of the camp. It was the weak part of the royal forces as miscellaneous

[38]Mohammad Waris, *Badshah Nama,* Ms.38, Seminar Library Aligarh, Department of History.f.106a-b
[39] Ibid.
[40] F.Steingass, p.1362
[41] William Irvine, p. 226
[42] Raj Kumar Phul, p.244
[43] Waris, *Badshah Nama,* f.106b
[44] Raj Kumar Phul, p.245
[45] F.Steingass, p. 274
[46] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 246

establishments like camp followers, water-carriers and other menials were also included in the Rear-guard. It was also called '*Bheer'* or crowd.[47]

*Tulughma*- it was a Turkish word used for flanking tactics of the Mughals, and consisted in posting light cavalry for encircling the enemy positions and attacking them from the rear. If successful, this charge exposed the enemy to the royal attack from both the front and the rear, and ultimately led to its defeat. Babur successfully employed this tactic in both the battles of Panipath and Khanwa.[48] Shahjahan also applied *Tulughma* tactics in the many campaigns. i.e., Deccan Campaigns, Central Asia and Qandahar also.

**Artillery**- It is very difficult to state that what was the priority of the different branches of the Army (Artillery, Cavalry, Elephantry and Infantry) in the files of the fighting forces, but big and important battles the artillery occupied the first line of the vanguard. Heavy cannons were placed on big carts or carriages called '*Arabah'*[49], which were linked together by iron chains and ropes of twisted leather. Between each pair of carts, there were placed six or seven gabions of nosebags full of earth or mentalist.[50] Deep ditches were also dug in front of the artillery to check the intrepid onset of the assailants. Entrenchment around the battle ground was also formed[51]. Next, the cart of artillery, there stood camels, which had behind them the rows of elephants. In the Qandahar Campaigns and rebellions which occurred during the reign of Shahjahan which the same system. The camels carried *Shutarnal* (camel-guns) and *Zamburak* (swivel- guns), and the elephants had on their backs- *Gajnal* and *Hathnal* (Elephant barrels). Each elephant carried two pieces of *Gajnal* and *Hathnal* and two soldiers. Behind the elephants was stationed the cavalry.[52] The Cannoneers (*Topchi*), the gunners, the mortar bearers (*Degandaz*), the throwers of grenades (*Rad-andaz*) and the rocket-men (*Takhsh-andaz*) were generally in the vanguard, and on its two flanks. But the first row of the right wing and the left wings as the center sometimes had also heavy artillery[53]. And so the elephants also were placed in front of each body of the troops. The cavalry always stood at some distance behind the elephants.

[47] Raj Kumar Phul, p.246
[48] Ibid.
[49] F.Steingass, p.33
[50] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War*, op.cit., p.47
[51] Ibid., p.48
[52] *Amal-i-Salih*, vol.II, p.365
[53] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, pp.485-86

The Rajput cavalry forces fought chiefly with spears (*Barchha*) and the Mughal cavalry had mainly bows and arrows. On the left shoulder hung the shield (*Sipar*), which was taken into the grip of the left hand during encounters. The infantry was posted behind the cavalry.[54] The guns were tied to each other by ropes made of iron or cow-hides. Between every two pieces, room was left for the matchlockmen to fire their muskets from behind the cannon.[55]

The king or the Prince or the *Sipahsalar*, who commanded the troops, stood in the center generally mounted on lofty elephant, clad in barb of steel and having a gaily ornamented Howdah and embroidered royal umbrella. He occupied a position which was visible from all parts of the field. The imperial standard fluttered either on his elephant or on the elephant standing just close to him.[56] Other elephants in his proximity carried musical bands.

When the king or the commander-in chief issued any order, they were conveyed to the different corners of the battle field by adjutants called *Tawwechi*.[57] These adjutants also saw that every soldier remained at the proper place of his array. If this order was disobeyed the penalty was death.[58]

The rearguard was stationed at a short distance behind the center. It watched against the onset of the enemy from behind, and looked after the camp and the royal harem.

Sketch of an ordinary Battle –array[59]-

Qarawal
(*skirmishers*)

Artillery

*Fauj-i-Harwal*( *Dast-i-chap*) Harawl *Rauj-i-Harawal*(*Dast-i-Rast*)

*Iltimish*
(Advance of Centre)

| *Jaranghar* | *Tarah* | *Qol* | *Tarah* | *Baranghar* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| (left wing) | (*Dast-i-Chap*) ( left flank) | (Centre) | (*Dast-i-Rast*) ( right flank) | (right wing) |

*Chandawal*
(Reserve)

[54] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,*op.cit.,p.48
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid., p.49
[57]*Malfuzat-i-Timuri*, tr. Elliot , vol.III, p.436
[58] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,* p.49
[59] *Baburnama,* vol.I, pp.472-475

This will be clear from an example of the different divisions of the Mughal army in the second siege of Qandahar in 1652A.D.[60]

| Wings | No. of the soldiers | *Mansabdars* | *Barqandaz* | *Tirandaz* | (*Bandar*) etc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Qarawal* | 2,000 | - | - | - | - |
| *Harawal* | 14,000 | 200 under Raja Jai Singh | 1,000 | - | 3,000 *Bandar* 8,000 Rest (Possible cavalry) |
| *Iltimish* | Not given | 150 under Najabat Khan | 400 | - | 2,000 |
| *Harawal-i-Jaranghar* | 14,000 | 140 under Raja Anurodh and Bithal Dass | 400 | - | 2,000 |
| *Jaranghar* | 4,000 | 420 under Mahabat Khan | - | - | - |
| *Jaranghar-i-Jaranghar* | 3,000 | 155 under Raja Raj Rup | 200 | - | 1,000 |
| *Harawal-i-Baranghar* | 4,000 | 40 under Satr Sal | 400 | - | 1,000 |
| *Baranghar-i-Baranghar* | 3,000 | 30 under Iftikhar Khan | 200 | 1,000 | 1,000 |
| *Baranghar* | 4,000 | 50 under Rustam Khan | - | - | - |
| *Qol* | 15,000 | Aurangzeb with Sadullah Khan 740 Mansabdars | 400 | 300 | 1,000 |
| *Tarah-i-Dast-i-Rast* | 6,500 | 30 under Shahnawaz Khan | 100 | 1,004 | - |
| *Tarah-i-Dast-i-Chap* | 7,500 | 700 under Qilij Khan | - | - | - |

**Camp-** The royal Military camps also called *urdu* (an army) a name for the Hindustani language, made up of Hindi, Persian and Arabic; *urdu-i-Humayun*, *Urdu-i-mualla* (the royal camp).[61] Military camps, marches and battle-array of the armies and different tactics used in the battles and sieges may be considered as second part of the Mughal military system. The Mughal's camps occupied an important position as

[60] Waris, *Badshah Nama*, f.106b; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, pp.464-466
[61] F.Steingass, p.36

the sovereigns were generally away from their capital either on military purpose or personal pursuits like hunting, visit to the sacred place like Ajmer, and hill stations. Naturally the Emperors showed a keen interest in their camp organization.[62]
Typical military camps divided into three parts-

**Royal Apartments-** Before every march, Lord High Steward (*Mir Khan Saman*) made all possible arrangements for supplies in the Royal Camp (*Urdu*). He had a subordinate officer known as *Mir Manzil* or Quartermaster who accompanied the royal procession. He selected a suitable camping ground at the end of the day's march and made arrangements for all the nobles and soldiers accompanying the Emperor on March.[63] He got royal tents fixed at the spot, before the arrival of the Emperor there in the evening.[64]

In this heavy work, he was assisted by a big establishment of servants, generally consisting of 'a thousand *Farrashes* (A Butler, or an officer for superintending the pitching of tents). Narratives of Iran, Turan, and Hindustan; 500 pioneers, 100 water carriers and torch bearers, 30 workers in leather and 150 sweepers.[65]

**Advance Camp** (*Peshkhana*)- Advance house or camp, the double set of tents which add so immensely to the comfort of ' camping' in India.[66] The *MirManzil* (the grand Quarter master)[67] selects two fine situations for the king's tent. One was pitched at the place where the Emperor stayed on a particular day, while the other was sent ahead and fixed where he was to halt for the next day, the latter being called a *Pesh-Khana* or a tent sent forward.[68] He then marks out a square, each side of which measures more than three hundred ordinary paces. A hundred pioneers presently clear and level this space. 100 elephants, 500 camels, 400 Carts, *Mansabdars* and *Ahadis*.[69] But the actual strength of the transport varied from time to time. After the selection of Advance Camp by *MirManzil*. The latter marched out a square at a suitable place and

[62] Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Moghul Empire, 1656-1668*, low Price publication, Delhi, 1934, p.360
[63] Ibid.
[64] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, Book I, p.147
[65] Ibid.
[66] F. Bernier, op.cit., p.359
[67] Ibid., p. 360
[68] Ibid.
[69] *Ain -i-Akbari*, vol. I, Book,I, op.cit., p.147, William Irvine, *Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p.196

started pitching royal tents. The extent of the space enclosed for this purpose varied from one case to another.

The royal Camp was encompassed with *Qanates* or screen, seven or eight feet in height, secured by cords attached to pegs, and poles fixed two by two in the ground at every tent paces. The *Qanates* were made of strong cloth, lined with printed Italian Calico, representing large vases of flowers.[70] The tents of the Emperor, his son and grand sons were of red cloth, called *Kharwah*, a stout canvas like cotton cloth, dyed red with the root of the al plant. Round the Emperor's tents was the enclosure called the *Gulalbar*. Some of the great nobles such as the vice-gerent or the chief minister (*Jamat-ul-Mulk)* were allowed *patapati* or stripped tents, one red strip and one white strip alternately.[71]

***Gulalbar***- the name of the screen (curtain) put up round the Emperor's tent was the *Gulalbar*. In Hindi *Ghulal* means "Red", '*Bar'* means wall, so *Gulabar* means 'Red wall'.[72] Before Akbar's time the tents of the *Gurgani* kings were surrounded by a rope called the *Tanab-i-Quruq*(the rope of hindrance).[73]*Gulalbar*, has seen an Emperor's camp, was the outer paling fifty yard from the *Qanates*, or cloth screen seven feet high, which enclosed the Emperor's tent.[74] The Royal apartments in the camp consisted of a number of tents. The first and largest tent erected in the royal camp is named *Aam-o-Khas*; being the place where the King and all the nobility keep the *Muqam* that is where; where they assemble at 9'o' clock in the morning for the purpose of deliberating on affairs of state and of administering justice.[75]

The second tent little inferior in size and some what further within the enclosure , is called the *Ghusl-khana* (Bathroom at that time period the name given to the private apartment in the Mughal's palace).[76] It is here that all the nobility meet every evening to pay their obeisance to the king, in the same manner as when the court is at Delhi.

[70] Ibid.
[71] William Irvine., p.198
[72]*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p.47
[73] William Irvine, p.199
[74] Ibid.
[75]*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, pp. 47-49
[76] F.Bernier, op.cit., p.361

The third, tent termed as '*Khilawat Khana'* or 'Private Chamber', was further inside the square of royal apartments.[77]

Some of the tents were of an enormous size. These was one made of order of Shahjahan which bore the name of *Dil-Badil*(Generous heart).When Bahadur Shah ordered this tent to be erected at Lahore in the year 1711, five hundred tent-pitchers and carpenters were employed for month in putting it up, this tent cost 50,000 rupees.[78]

Then camp, the private tents of the sovereign, decorated with figured satin silk and other varieties of cloth. Adjoining them were the quarters of the Queens, princes and other ladies of the *Harem*. All these tents were highly decorated and furnished with all amenities of life.[79]

The allied royal establishments were: stables contained horses, Elephants and other animals of the Emperor and were situated outside the royal apartments, but on either side of the grand entrance leading to them.[80]

**Artillery**

*Rahkalah*- This word is literally *Rahkalah*, field piece, bar means enclosure. It was the park of artillery arranged at the entrance of the imperial quarters, or round them, as a protection against attack.[81]Some peaces of light and heavy artillery were always at the royal gates of the camp. Their actual number varied from time to time. These guns were fired as a mark of salute to the king, when he entered his tent. This apprized the army of his arrival.[82]

*Harem*- consisting of caste wives of the Emperor was a special feature in a Mughal camp.

*Naqqar-Khana*- The *Naqqarah* was a monster Kettle drum, some were as high as four feet, resting on the ground and played upon by one man with a pair of sticks. In each *Naqqar-Khana*, there were twenty pairs, more or less, of these instruments, together

[77] Ibid.
[78] William Irvine, p.198
[79] Ibid.
[80] Ibid.
[81] F.Bernier, p.363
[82] Ibid., p.363

with trumplets and horns of various shapes and cymbals (*sanj*) of which three pairs were used.[83] The beating of drums, accompanied by the playing of cymbals and the blowing of trumpets, at certain fixed intervals (*Narbat*), was one of the attributes of sovereignty.

Royal personal contained weapons and flags, Bernier mentioned a number of the Mughal flags, which consisted of 'figures in silver, representing strange animals, hands, balances, fish and other mystical objects, bore at the end of large silvery poles.[84]

**Royal-Guards Post** (*Chawki Khana*)[85]-The place of mounting guard was called *Mahtabi* in Akbar's reign.[86] The guadrs were given tents just near the private quarters of the Emperor. A spacious ground was reserved for this purpose and a curtain was setup around it. Inside the Royal Harem, women-soldiers called *urdu-Begis*[87] guarded the place. Light tower or *Laltain* was usually raised in every camp and flaming torch was placed on it. This served as a beacon to the forlorn and stragglers of the camp. It was also considered the pivot of the camp, and everyone rushed to it in cases of emergency.[88] There were hundreds of tents which contained provisions and officers in charge of them. These included royal kitchens, Stables for ordinary horses, Elephants, Birds of Prey, and even leopards and lions.[89]

**Discipline**- in spite of the large numbers in the Mughal camp, discipline therein was quite praiseworthy. A special officer called *Kotwal* was appointed for maintaining general peace and order there. He was always selected from amongst the great and loyal nobles, and kept an eye on the movements of all the inmates of the camp. The duties of his officers were both civil and military in nature. Like his counterpart in a city, he kept guard round the camp at night, settled the disputes of soldiers and other people in the army.[90] He also appointed spies who kept him informed of all the happenings in the tents of nobles, soldiers, and if possible, even those of the enemy. On the day of battle, he was responsible for the safety of the camp. For this reason, he

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid., p.371
[85] Ibid., p.363
[86] Ibid.
[87] Stiengass, p.36
[88] Raj Kumar Phul, p.219
[89] F.Bernier, p.364
[90] Raj Kumar Phul, pp.226-227

was helped by a number of soldiers in his work.[91] Besides a *Kotwal* and his soldiers, the mounting guards of Emperors and nobles kept watch round the tents of their masters at night. They raised interesting cries like 'Have a care'(*Khabardar*), while moving from one place to another on duty.[92]

Supplies in the camps-the problem of regular supplies to soldiers in the military camp always received full attention from the Mughal Emperors. Here again Timur set an example for the Indian Mughals. He asked his soldiers and officers to provide the following-

**Private Soldiers**- on an expedition, eighteen of them were to have one tent. Each man was supplied with two horses, a bow, a Quiver of arrows, a sword, a saw, an axe, an owl, some thread, and ten needles and with leather knaps sack.[93]

**Selected warriors**- each of them was supplied a skullcap, a breast-plate, a sword, a bow, a quiver of arrows and a horse. A group of five such soldiers was provided with a tent.[94]

Ounbashee (*Dah-bashee*)- he had one tent, a coat of mail, a sword, a bow, a quiver and five horses.Euzbashee (*Sadi*) he was to maintain one tent, ten horses, sword, bow, quiver, mace, coat of mail, and breast place each one piece, and foot soldiers had a sword, a bow and a bundles of arrows. During the Mughal rule in India, the sovereign would establish factories for making arms, armours, dresses, and other miscellaneous things not only for their personal use but for their soldiers.[95]The nobles of Mughal Empire had their own factories for the same purpose.

**Kitchen**-The imperial kitchen is more important in the camps. Here, palace servants, armed guards, matchlockmen, and artificers etc., sometimes, special kitchens called *langar khanas* were established in the camp for supplying free food to all the soldiers there. To ensure further supplies, the Mughal Emperors allowed merchants and traders to accompany regular armies and gave them all sorts of facilities. A special class of Hindu roving merchants called *Banjaras* were employed for this purpose.[96]

[91] Ibid., p. 227
[92] F.Bernier, p.363
[93] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 221
[94] Ibid.
[95] William Irvine, p. 197
[96] Raj Kumar Phul, p.223

Shahjahan appointed some leaders of these people as government officials, resembling the modern civil supplies Officers, at Agra, in Gujarat and Balaghat (Deccan) and asked them to send regular supplies to the armies in the Deccan.[97]

***Kahi* or Forage**- the supply of fodder for the animals of transport in the camp were well looked after and procured by various methods. Whenever any Mughal commander started on an expedition or besieged a place, he fixed the turns of his subordinate officers to bring fodder for animals in the camp regularly.[98] The technical word used for these things' *Naubat-i-Kahi'* or the turn of forage, *Fauj-i-Kahi* or the force sent on bringing forage.[99] A special class of foragers also marched with the royal army. They were scattered all over the country to bring fodder every day.[100]

**Camps of nobles**- a number of great generals always accompanied their royal masters on March; and each of them was given a place in the camp, suitable to his rank and position. A noble had always to fix his tents at a regular distance from the royal quarters, and none was permitted to change the place allotted to him.[101]

The tents of the military leaders were nearly of the same descriptor on as those of their sovereign, except establishments, the keeping of which was considered a royal prerogative. Their tents were always lower in height than those of the Emperor. To show respect to the overlord, every noble had the front gate of his tent always facing towards the royal quarters or *Aam-o-Khas*.[102]

**Extent of a Mughal Camp**- A place where thousands of people lined together looked more like a city than a military camp. Hawkins estimated Jahangir's camp, whether on hunting or military expedition 'as much as the compass of London or even more.[103] Sir Thomas Roe mentioned the camp of the same Emperor 'not less than twenty English miles in compass, the length some ways three *kos* (about 6 miles) include the skirt.[104] The strength of a Mughal camp varied from one case to another.

[97] Ibid., p.224
[98] Ibid.
[99] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p**.** 37
[100] Ibid.
[101] F.Bernier, p. 366
[102] Raj Kumar Phul, p.219
[103] F.Bernier, p. 366
[104] Sir Thomas Roe, *The Journal of Sir Thomas Roe,* op.cit., p.646

Every soldiers occupied by two or three servants, depending upon his fortunes. The case of nobles was still worse.[105]

It was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make correct estimate of the strength of a royal camp. Careri placed the strength of the same Emperor's camp in the Deccan at 60,000 horse and 100000 foot the whole establishment numbering about 5, 00,000 men.[106]

Vim was an interesting method of estimating the rough strength of an army.

We can say that camps were very important during the war. Military camps considered as significant part of the Mughal Military system.

**Battle-ground**

Commendable order of battle depended on an ideal-field, which was chosen with great care. A battle-ground was regarded as most suitable when it was wide, extensive and spacious. It was chosen in a place which was neither too near nor too far from habitation. Hard ground was preferred, but a stony field was avoided as it damaged the hoofs of the horses. Wet, dusty and sandy ground also was not liked, because it hindered the movements of the troops. The proximity of an independent water-supply was also given consideration in the selection of a field.[107]

In order to checkmate the break-through of the enemy, ditches were dug round the camp and battle-ground, and block-houses were made along the entrenchment.[108]

Shahjahan's army could not get superiority over Uzbeks, because the latter always preferred to inflict losses on the imperial army by having sporadic tussles behind ravines and valleys. And so Alamgir failed to suppress the Ahoms and Maghs of Assam, in as much as they gave stiff resistance to the royal troops while retiring to dense woods, rugged hills and narrow creeks. Similarly, the Marathas always realized the efficacy of guerilla warfare against the Mughal Army, and their roving columns in mountainous areas gave enormous trouble to the latter. They always avoided pitched

[105] Raj Kumar Phul, p.225
[106] Sen, 'Travels of thevenot and Careri, op.cit., p.218
[107] Abdul Sabahuddin and Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War*, p.55
[108] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdaridari System and the Mughul Army*, p.225

battles and fought against their opponents by encamping themselves in obscure and inaccessible places.[109]

Dust and ill provision of water also sometimes caused great disaster to the army. Dara's army also had to suffer much distress at Samugarh on account of the fierce sun overhead, the sandy plain under foot, and the scorching wind around. A large number of people perished from the heat, thirst and lack of drinking water.[110]

**War Council**- Before the actual fighting commenced, a council of military officers was summoned to appraise the difficulties and think over the crucial issues of the battle. This was the general practice in Mughal India.

**Battle conduct**- A Battle was generally commenced in the morning and stopped at evening. The opposite camps tried to begin an engagement as late in the day possible, so that in the event of defeat it would be possible to fly under cover of night. Just before the beginning of battle, a drum was beaten by the orders of *Sar-i-Lashkar*, then a horn blown and the *takbir* was recited as a signal for the soldiers to prepare for encountering their enemies. At the second beat of the drum, they got ready with their horses and arms and arranged themselves in battle-array. At the third beat they jumped on their horses and waited for further orders, and when the *chaush* blew the war-horn, the combatants proceeded to fight.[111]

The engagements always began with the beat of drums and sound of other warlike instruments.[112] When the combatants became intermingled with the enemy in hand-to-hand clashes, they recognized the soldiers of their own camp either by peculiar sign of their dresses or by a secret watch-word.[113]

Prior to the Mughal rule, the ruler of the Deccan States had begun to use cannon which helped greatly in breaking the ranks of the enemy. Elephants were also employed to create confusion amongst the files of the hostile army. And when panic was sufficiently created in the ranks of the enemy, the cavalry and the infantry, armed with swords and spears, rushed forth at their commander's order for a hand–to-hand contest, and then the battle raged with relentless fury. The pressure of the battle was

[109] William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p.244
[110] Ibid.
[111] Abdul Sabahuddin, Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War*, p.77
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid., p.78

generally on the center of the enemy, where the supreme commander stationed himself and the archers were posted at different convenient positions to make him the target of their incessant archery. If he was killed or his elephant wounded, victory was gained without much trouble.[114]

**Tricks and Stratagems**- the most important stratagem was that troops pretended to fly and then, when the enemy had pursued them for some distance, turned round and attacked the foe.[115]

A surprise attack on the enemy's camp in the small hours of the morning was another stratagem which has been practiced ever since human being began to fight battles. But it was always regarded as foul tactics. This night raid, called *Shab-khun*, was successfully made only when the enemy's camp was ill protected and carelessly guarded.[116]

The attackers also blocked all the roads of the camp and in confusion shouted deliberately that this great man had been captured and that man had been killed, in order to alarm and dishearten their opponents. *Shabkhun*(night attack) was however the stratagem of the inferior and feebler party[117].

**Strength of the army**- As estimate of the strength of the military establishment of the Mughals has been a baffling problem for modern Historians.

Irvine[118] considered it a 'hopless task', Zabir-ud-Din[119] and Abdul Aziz[120] did not probe into the subject, but merely accepted the figures of Shahjahan's army as applicable to the whole Mughal period. There are many difficulties which put obstacles in the way of the writers to come to a definite conclusion.[121]

First, there was no clear distinction between the strictly civil and military establishment of a typical Mughal camp, which included not only the regular soldiers of cavalry and infantry but also servants, Sutlers and tradesmen.[122]

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[114] Ibid., p.79
[115] Ibid., p.103
[116] Ibid., p.105
[117] Ibid., p.105
[118] William Irvine, p.61
[119] Zabir-ud-Din, *Aurangzeb and His times*, p.439
[120] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army*, p.227
[121] Ibid., p.227
[122] F.Bernier, p.380

Secondly, The Mughal writers gave the numbers of royal armies according to their own estimates. Abul Fazl's figures in *Ain* included all possible types of military establishment like central, provincial and those of feudal princes. Abdul Hamid Lahori [123] surveying the Imperial army at the end of the twentieth regnal year , informs us with business like succinctness and precision, so used with him, that the army ( excluding the numbers appointed with *Faujdars, Karoris* and *Amils* to administer the *Parganas*)[124]

Thirdly, The writers did not take into account armies of feudal princes like those of Amber, Mewar, and Jodhpur. These, almost equally efficient as the royal forces, were at the disposal of the Emperor in an emergency, and should have been included amongst royal armies while making an estimate of their total strength. In the light of these facts an attempt will be made to solve this problem.[125]

In 1630, Shahjahan led an expedition in person to the Deccan. Mandelslo says, the whole army numbered 1, 44,500 horse including 15,000 *ahadis* and *Barq-Andaz,* and give a long list of *Mansabdars* with their respective contingents, which constituted that number.[126]

On the other hand Abdul Hamid Lahori[127] tells us that this force consisted of three armies commanded by Iradat Khan, Raja Gaj Singh and Shaista Khan, numbering respectively 20,000, 15,000 and 15,000, in total 50,000 including *Ahadis* and *Barq-andaz*[128].

The Emperor dispatched force of one hundred and forty thousand cavalry to crush the rebellion of Khan-i- Jahan Lodi.[129]

The official strength of royal army in 1647 A.D. was as follows-

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[123] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.II, p.715
[124] Abdul Aziz, p. 228
[125] William Irvine, p.61
[126] Mandelslo, *The voyages and travels of John Albert De Mandelslo into east indies,*pp.49-51 cited by Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army,* p. 232, also see William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls, p.*61; Raj Kumar Phul, Armies of the Great Mughals, p.131, Abdul Sabahuddin, Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,*p.116
[127] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, pp.294-295
[128] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army,* p. 232
[129] William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls,* p.61; Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughals,* p.131; Abdul Sabahuddin, Rajshree Shukla, *The Mughal Strategy of War,*p.116

| | |
|---|---|
| Troopers with branded Horses | 2, 00,000 |
| *Mansabdars* | 8,000 |
| *Ahadis* | 7,000 |
| *Mansabdar's* Contingents | 1, 85,000 |
| Foot-Musketeers, Gunners and Rocketeers. | 40,000 (10,000 with the Emperor and 30,000 in the provinces)[130] |

In the last decade three well-equipped expeditions were sent to Qandahar. In the following table gives the detail of the army (Cavalry, Infantry, and artillery) and its equipment sent for the purpose of laying siege to that stronghold.[131]

The actual number of Mughal army must have increased after 1647 as Shahjahan had to carry on wars for the recapture of Qandahar. Dara's army numbered about 90,000 in the third expedition to Qandahar, in 1653.

| | |
|---|---|
| 7,000 | Horses (including 110 Muslim and 58 Rajputs *Mansabdars*) |
| 5,000 | *Ahadis* (Mounted matchlockmen) |
| 3,000 | *Ahadis* (Mounted Archers) |
| 10,000 | Infantry with Matchlocks. |
| 6,000 | Diggers and Hatchet-men. |
| 500 | Stone-cutters and Sappers. |
| 500 | water-carriers.[132] |

In the first two expeditions led by Aurangzeb, the number of the royal army was:

Expedition in 1649-

50,000 to 60,000 horse (*Mansabdars* and their followers), with about 10,000 foot (*Tufangchis, Ban-dars* and gunners), 5,000 *Ahadais*. (*Tir-andaz* and *Barqandaz*)[133]

Expedition in 1652-

50,000 horse, 10,000 foot, 10 war Elephant, and sufficient Artillery.[134]

The actual number of Mughal army must have increased after 1647 as SahJahan had to carry on wars for the recapture of Qandahar. Dara's army numbered about 90,000 in the third expedition to Qandahar in 1653.[135]

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[130] Ibid.

[131] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army*, p. 233

[132] William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, p.61

[133] According to Lahori the *Ahadis* are included in the 50,000 cavalry, Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and The Mughal Army*,p. 234

[134] Inayat Khan, *ShahJaha Nama*, pp.463-464, Abdul Aziz gave the information of military strength different to other Historians. According to him- 56,000 (*Mansabdars* and Followers), 7,000 *Ahadis* , p. 234

7,000 horse (Including 110 Muslim and 58 Rajput *Mansabdars*)

5,000 *Ahadis* (Mounted Matchlockmen)

3,000 (Mounted archers)

10,000 (Infantry with Matchlocks)

6,000(Diggers and Hatchet-men)

500 (stone-cutters and sappers)

500 (Water-carriers).

**Strategy and Tactics in war**

As alien invaders the Mughals adopted a policy of militant expansion; this accorded well with their religious injunction to spread Islam and root out idol worship and *kufr*. Akbar modified and moderated the militant posture and tried to expand through diplomacy. Jahangir gradually shifted back a little; Shahjahan was more openly inclined towards militancy. These shifts in attitude were reflector in the military posture during the reigns of the respective rulers.[136]

The maximum use of diplomacy with minimum force formed the basis of the Mughal war strategy through this device. As a rule the Mughal Emperor Shahjahan applied this policy at each of the three stages of war.[137]

This was a bloodless coup as the object of military aggression was achieved without any use of force. This consisted sending an ambassador to induce the ruler of an enemy state to submit. Shahjahan recaptured the Deccan, states of Khandesh, Ahmadnagar, Bijapur and Golkunda forts by winning over Ali Mardan Khan, the Iranian commander of the place in 1638.[138]

Heralds, spies and Announcers (*Naqibs*) were always sent along with the armies on expedition. They entered enemy lands in advance of the regular forces and announced safety to the merchants and traders provided they supplied provisions to the Mughal armies.[139] Spies were also asked to spread contradictory news to demoralize the enemy and mislead it. In 1658, Aurangzeb captured Lahore by conveying false news of capture of Dara to his men within that fort.[140]

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[135] B.P.Saksena, *History of ShahJahan*, pp.226-32
[136] Guru Charan Singh, p.589
[137] Raj Kumar Phul, p.249
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] F.Bernier, p.112

Marauding (*Qazaqi*) also called '*Yaratawab'* was a sort of *gurilla* warfare implying the policy of 'hit and run'. It consisted in sending a small but picked force to ravage the country around the fort or camp of the enemy, thus compelling them to starve and surrender.[141]

The *Daccanis* were expert in this kind of warfare. Malik Amber employed thousands of Marathas, trained in *gurilla* fighting, in his struggle against the Mughals. He besieged the Mughal governor at Ahmadabad with the help of these marauders in 1620.[142] The Rajputs also followed the same policy.

Forged letters were a part of the Mughal strategy. It was a very clever method of demoralizing the enemy or creating dissensions in their ranks. Burning of effigies was the worst form of demonstrating hatred for the enemy.

Selection for the Rendezvous for the Battle (*Jang-gah*).[143] A commander selected a suitable place for the battle- field. Availability of good water in the neighborhood, safety from the enemy attack, extensive and wide ground for cavalry to work successfully in the battle, and a bi elevated nature of the place to judge the enemy position.

**Night-Attack** (*Shab-khun*)- was usually a prelude to an actual battle. If successful, it greatly demoralized the enemy. Babur made night attack on Ibrahim's army on April 19, 1526.[144]

Surprise attacks aimed at luring the enemy to a false sense of security either by starting negotiations or even concluding a definite treaty, and then making a sudden attack upon them.

Beginning of artillery fire heralded commencement of an engagement.[145] Its main object was to destroy a large part of the enemy's ranks and equipment, and also to silence their artillery. This facilitated the advance of the attacking army.[146] Usually one, if not, both the armies made ready for battle by drawing out the guns in a long line and protecting them by earth works, the guns being also connected together by

[141] Raj Kumar Phul, p.250
[142] Beni Prasad, *History of Jahangir*, p. 256
[143] F.Steingasss, p.374
[144] Ibid., p.252
[145] F.Bernier, p.49
[146] Ibid.

chains or hide straps, to prevent the horsemen of the other side from riding through the line and cutting down the gunners.

After successfully artillery action, the cavalry made a dash on the enemy for this purpose, chains of the guns were united for horsemen to pass easily. A powerful cavalry attack usually decided fate of the battle in favour of attacker.[147]

Rustam Khan *Daccani* made such a powerful ash on Aurangzeb's forces on the day of Battle at Samugarh, that if he had been supported by rest of Dara's army, he must have crushed his enemy completely.[148]

The Mughal cavalry was famous for its efficiency. An ordinary horsemen could draw six arrows before a Musketmen could fire twice.[149] Bernier mentioned, the horsemen preserved excellent order and kept in a compact body, especially when charging the enemy.[150] After cavalry action, infantry marched forward, and battle would become general. Both sides used all sorts of short range weapons like swords, maces, daggers, javelins and axes, the swords were commonly used in this phase, which was called *chapaqalash*.[151]

While the artillery went on, the rest of the army was drawn up at some distance behind the guns in the order of battle, with standards displayed, drums beating, and horns blowing. 'As the army took up its position for battle, the long brass horns (*karranai*) sounded and herald made proclamation.[152] Heralds mean *Naqib*,[153] a servant, whose work to proclaim the tittles of his master, and to introduce those who pay their respects to him.[154]

The soldiers raised different war-cries while fighting. They usually pertained to the calling of God or to invoke His blessings. The Afghans cried of *Allah-hu-Akbar*, while fighting against the Mughals in the battle of Dawalambapur in 1612.[155] The

[147] William Irvine, p.233
[148] Ibid.
[149] F.Bernier, p.48
[150] Ibid.
[151] F.Steingass, p.383
[152] William Irvine, p.231
[153] F. Steingass, p.1418
[154] William Irvine, p.231
[155] Sarkar , 'Battle of Dawalambapur' 1612, an article published in Hindusthan Standard, May 9, 1954, cited by Raj Kumar Phul, Armies of the Great Mughals, p. 254

Mughals shouted '*Takbir'* during the siege of Kangra in 1619[156] and siege of Orcha in 1633.[157]

The Rajputs usually raised cries of '*Har Har Mahadev*' (victory of Lord Shiva), *Gopal Gopal, Ram Ram.*[158]

On many occasions, blessings of some saints were also invoked. The Mughal forces raised cry of '*Ya Moin*( pertaining to Saint Muinuddin Chishti of Ajmer) and *Ya Hussain* etc. *Hu Hu, Mar Mar* ( kill kill) and *Bakush*(kill) were other important cries in the Mughal period[159].

Appeals of other methods to encourage the soldiers played a leading part in the fortunes of the battle, and ability to do so was looked upon as one of the basic qualities of a good commander in India. Babur's famous speech to his army on the field of Khanwaha in 1527, won for him the Empire of Hindustan.[160] Sometimes money was also showered on the soldiers to raise their moral in war. High moral of the soldiers was always a great factor that led to the success of an army in war.

[156] Ibid., p. 254
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] *Baburnama*, tr. A.S. Beveridge , London, 1921, and tr. John Leyden and K.W. Eraskin, Oxford University Press, 1921, vol.II, p.280

## Chapter-4

# FORTS: LOCATION AND SIEGECRAFT

The Forts were very important from the ancient time, right from the dawn of civilization the human being had a feeling of protection for his own survival from the natural calamities, wild animals and other rival human agencies etc., obviously, this feeling initiated the need of shelters by raising barriers etc., around their dwellings. This might have been an earliest creation of human mind to construct the ramparts, fortifications (forts) around his residence.[1]The art of fortification appears to be almost as old as human civilization since thepre-historic age. Forts were built not only for protection against invasions but also to serve as military encampments, seats of rulers and the provincial governors.[2]

The important part of the Mughal war strategy was concerned with the capture of forts. These had always been looked upon as the safest places of refuge against formidable enemies in the time of war. The Emperors considered a typical fort as 'a dreamland for the king and his army'. For this reason, construction of every city was always planned on semi-military lines and a strong wall built either of mud, bricks or stones (whichever could be easily available) around the city.[3]

The Mughal Emperors paid great attention to the construction of the forts and captured of the forts. There were four types of forts, Water forts or on the bank of a river, forest forts, hill forts and plain forts, but mainly two types of forts were prevalent in the Mughal Period. The forts which were situated on the hills. These forts were built either on the crest of a hill on the highest point in a range of hills. Stone was invariably used in constructing them as it was easily available there. The second type of forts which were built in the plain on a natural height or mound[4].These were further divided into two categories, first is Garrison Forts, it was built for the military purposes. The garrison of the forts was mostly infantry in the hill forts and a mixed

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1 A.P.Singh, *Forts and fortifications in India( with special reference to Central Asia),* Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1987, p.54

2 L.P.Mathur, *Forts and Strongholds of Rajasthan,* Inter India Publication, New Delhi, 1922, p.5

3 Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals( 1556-1707),*Oriental Publishers and Distributers, New Delhi, 1978, p.292

4 Ibid.

force in the land forts[5].and second one is administrative forts. The forts were directly controlled by the sovereign, who was appointed only trust worthy and loyal officers as the Governors (*Subedars*) of these places.

During Shahjahan's reign, he constructed many fort i.e., Red Fort Delhi, built by Shahjahan at a cost of 60 lakhs of rupees in 1647-48 A.D. the forts stand on the right bank of river Jamuna, and is made of red sand stone. It is an administrative fort, contains famous buildings like *Diwan-i-Aam, Diwan-i-Khas* and *Ghusalkhana* etc. it is surrounded by a double wall of red sand stone[6].Some part of the Agra Fort and there were many forts were captured by the military. The main purpose of the capture of the forts was to expansion of the territory. A careful study of various sieges in the Mughal period shows that the different points of strategy and tactics adopted by the besiegers may be called offensive, while those employed by the besieged, defensive[7]. There are many strategies were adopted by the Shahjahan during the sieges of the forts. i.e., *Morcha*(Army which includes a large number of stone cutters, axemen and miners etc.) on reaching near fort, he divided into a number of divisions to surround the citadel. The place allotted to each division was called *Morchal,* experienced officers were appointed to take charge of them. It the position taken by the Emperor was called *Morcha-i-Badshahi.* while besieging Daulatabad Fort in 1633 A.D, Khan-i-Khana, Mahabat Khan built four *morchas* around the fort[8] and many other strategies were used to sieges of the forts. There are following forts were sieged during the time of Shahjahan.

**Malwa** or Central India, a table land of uneven surface, elevated from 1500 to 2500 feet above the level of the sea, bounded on the west by the Aravalli range mountains.[9]

**Khana Khairi Fort-**It is situated in the Malwa Region. In 1633 A.D, Bhagirath Bhil, the leader of the rebels in the territory of Khana Khairi, would not obey the governor of that province and had besides instigated an insurrection during Nasiri Khan's

[5] M.S.Naravane, *Forts of Maharashtra,* APH Publishing corporation, Darya Ganj, New Delhi, 1995, p.27

[6] Imperial Gazetteers of India, vol. XI, Toady & Tomorrow printers & publishers, New Delhi, 1975, p.285

[7] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals( 1556-1707),* p. 306

[8] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p. 97

[9] Imperial Gazetteers of India, vol. XVII, p.98; Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the territories under the government of the east-India company and of the native states on the continent of India,* Neeraj Publishing house, Delhi, 1984, p. 598

administration. Nasiri Khan, along with the crown servants and his own followers, had taken possession, he raised the standard of Islam over that and captured the fort.[10]

**Deccan Forts-** it is southern part of India situated between the Narmada and Krisna rivers. Properly speaking, however, it includes the whole of the territory lying south of Vindhya mountains, which separate it from Hindustan of the north.[11] In the time of Shahjahan in 1630 A.D, Deccan was divided into three kingdoms of Ahmadnagar, Golkunda and Bijapur. The first of these became tributary to Shahjahan in 1636 A.D.[12]

**Capture of the fort of Dharur-**

It is situated in the Deccan. It was renamed Fathabad (Fatehbad) under Shahjahan.[13] This fort was built on the top of a ridge, and deep river of difficult passage ran on two sides of it.[14] In 1631 A.D. Azam Khan (Iradat Khan) deputed Multafat Khan with Manoj Bhonsla and Ehtimam Khan (*Darogha-i-Topkhana*) and Marhamat Khan (*Bakhshi*) along with royal artillery and *ahadis* to make an attack on the town of Dharur and its *peth (*weekly market). Where once a week people from all parts, far and near, were familiar to meet for buying and selling. The fort of Dharur was celebrated throughout and weapons of war.[15]

Fort Dharur was so secure that any effort upon it by the royal army was likely to prove unsuccessful; so Multafat Khan was directed to plunder the town and *peth*. Therefore, when Multafat Khan with other servants of the court entered the town, Azam Khan deputed a large following to engage themselves in showering arrows and firing muskets from this side of the ditch. Azam Khan with all the servants of the courts passed through the town and came near the four walls of the fort, which had cannons fitted upon it, and stationed himself and Multafat Khan and the persons accompanying him went to the edge of the ditch and removed the men of the township, who, relying upon the support of the cannons and muskets of the fort, had entered into the ditch along with their belongings and riches and wives and children

[10] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,*vol.I, p.450; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.89
[11] Imperial Gazetteers of India, vol. XI, p. 205
[12] Ibid.
[13] IrfanHabib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire,* Oxford University Press, New York, 1982, sheet 14A, p.56
[14] Inayat Khan, *ShahJaha Nama,* p.52; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.B,f. 199b, Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.I, 314, Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir – Al-din Ahmad, p.427
[15] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part-I p.340

and were trying to wage battle by striking guns upon them, and entering into the ditch swiftly and cunningly, the imperialists extended their hands to pillage and imprison and acquired a lot of booty. Imperial army capturing four Elephants and a lot of horses, camels, oxen and few were killed and arrested.[16]Azam Khan secured the Elephants for the Emperor and returned the horses and belonging to that following. As soon as this gallant exploit was reported at court, Azam Khan was honoured with various robe of honour. Intelligence arrived that the Nizam-ul-Mulk, on hearing of this victory, had marched from their previous ground with the view of molesting Nasiri Khan who was besieging Qandahar. Azam Khan therefore made over charge of the captured citadel to Abdullah Khan, a relative of Mirza Sayyid Yusuf Khan Rizvi, leaving with him a number of *mansabdars*, 700 infantry matchlockmen and some gunners.[17]

Negotiations between Azam Khan and the commander of the Bijapur army-commander of the Bijapur, Randola Khan, was sent by Aqil Khan with 10,000 army to protect and subjugate his territory situated in the quarter from the ravages of Nizam-ul-Mulk and take possession of those forts in the territory by the latter which had been allotted to him by this gracious Majesty.[18]

When they 10 kos away from Dharur, Randola Khan (commander of Bijapur) sent a message to Azam Khan that as Adil Khan was ready to cooperate with royal troops and do their maximum to chastise Nizam-ul-Mulk's territory and he was anxious to see him and follow his advise.[19]Azam Khan, acceded to his request by way of expediency, permitted then to do so stating that he had firmly determined to pursue the forces of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Randol and his father Farhad departed for the victorious army on the same day. Azam Khan stayed in Dahrur for meeting them on the next day and sent Yaqoot Khan and Uda Jairam and other servants of the court. They represented that His Majesty had shown extreme kindness towards Adil Khan, and had promised him all Nizam-ul-Mulk' fort situated near Bijapur, together with the villages and districts attached to them, it would be great source of helpfulness to Adil

[16] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.B,f. 199b; Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.I, p.314
[17] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part-I, p.433
[18] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*,Part.B,f. 200a; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir – Al-din Ahmad,p.427
[19] Ibid.

Khan.[20]Azam khan replied that the royal mandate was to this effect, that whatever was wrested out of Nizam-ul-Mulk's possession should be the property of that captor, provided they also joined in devastating his dominions. However, he pointed out that all this time while the royal troops had been exerting themselves in hunting down the rebels, the Bijapur is had remained idle and misemployed. But they were not agreed. The royalist army captured the fort of Dharur and their request was unreasonable[21].

Azam Khan, himself started in pursuit of the Nizam-ul-Mulkis who had gone to Qandahar (it is well known fortress in the Deccan).[22]He quitted Qandahar and marched to Partur by way of Parbhani. When Azam Khan afterwards learned that the Nizam-ul-Mulkis had gone to Galna, and had then fled towards Daulatabad, he pursued them by forced and marches of 15 *kos* a day. As soon as they reached Galna, he was informed that the rebels had marched towards Bhokardan. Nizam-ul-mulk had sent his message saying that their staying there was the cause of the invasion of the royal army, and that they had therefore better depart in the direction as Randola, where all the Adil Khanis had gone. Having reached that area they should as had been previously agreed upon deliver up Sholapur to the Adil Khanis, after which having entered into a treaty with them the combined forces should then give the royal army plenty to do. With this intent the Nizam-ul-Mulkis marched to Bir and territory of Balaghat.[23]

**Parenda Fort**- Parenda had originally belonged to the Nizamshahi kingdom but was seized by the Adil Shah, who was allowed to keep it.[24] In the same year (1631 A.D) for further development in the campaign, the narration with respect to Azam Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulkis continue thus.[25]When Azam Khan near Parenda, he sent Raja Jai Singh to reduction of that fortress, capture of the elephants and to ravage the town and *peth*. Raja Jai Singh firstly plundered the *peth*, which situated a *kos* before of the fortress. Raja Jai Singh attacked the town which was surrounded by a mud wall five *ghaz* high and three *ghaz* thick, and by a ditch of three cubits.[26]Jai Singh broke the

[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid.
[22]IrfanHabib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire,* sheet-14A, p.56
[23] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.55, Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I, p.436
[24] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire,* sheet-14A, p.56
[25] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.57
[26] Lahori,*Badshah Nama,*vol.I,part-I,p.356;Qazvini,*Badshah Nama,*Part.B,f.203a;MohammadSalih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.I, p.326; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.437

wall with the help of his elephants, and the musketeers of the garrison then fled in to the ditch of the fort. The town was plundered. After this, Azam Khan arrived and entered to town, to secure the elephants belonging to the enemy, which had been taken into the ditch of the fortress. Seven elephants were seized and brought out, and much other booty was secured.[27]

The siege of Parenda had gone on for a month. Provender had throughout been difficult to procure, and now no grass was to be found within 20 *kos*. So Azam Khan was obliged to raise the siege, and to go to Dharur.[28]

**Fort of Situndah and further Progress of the Army of Azam Khan-**

A town in Hyderabad, or territory of the Nizam[29] Sipahdar Khan, after the obtaining of the fort of Taltum,[30] laid siege to Situndah.Sidi Jamal, the governor, and then offered to surrender on condition of pardon. Sipahdar Khan sent Raza Quli Khan, his confident servant to the foot of the fort and asked him to handover the fort and he will have his life and richest intact and sent a *Tajwiznamah*(Proposal) regarding *Mansab* to him and Sidi Meeraun, his son and Sidi Sarwan, his son-in-law, inside the fort. He came out along with his family and dependents and handed over the fort.[31]

Sipahdar Khan visited the fort that day and having set his mind at rest as to the security of the points of egress and ingress, returned after placing a detachment in it under one of his confidential associates. This fort was situated on a hill and framed its vast strength, taken easily in a few days, which could not otherwise have been captured without immense exertions.[32]

When the spies conveyed the news to Azam Khan that Adil Khanians and Nizam-ul-Mulkis were encamped within seven *kos* of the royal forces. Azam Khan set out on horse back from Dharur an hour and a half after night fall and fell unawares upon the

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[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the territories under the government of the east-India company and of the native states on the continent of India*, p.920
[30] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, sheet-14A, 9b
Fort of Taltum, a celebrated stronghold of the Deccan perched on the crest of a hill, entered into a treaty with Sipahdar Khan.
[31] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, p.63;Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.B,f. 209a;Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.I, p.331
[32] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.B, f.209a; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.370; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, p.63; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.I, p.331; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir –Al-din Ahmad, p.441

enemy. Randaulah with all commanders of Adil Khan and Nizam-ul-Mulkis took away his life away intact with a lot of distress and shame and a lot of horses, camels, oxen and rockets full into the hands of the royalists.[33]

Azam Khan turned towards *suba* Chokani with his army. When Adil Khanians and Nizam-ul-Mulkis derived shame from this fleeing, they departed for shaking Nasiri Khan, who was before the fort of Qandahar, Azam Khan with the victorious army, who had experienced trouble due to the lack of the corn and fodder for the last 2-3 days, departed in the direction of Ghat Nandaur, in the vicinity of which the provisions could be found and it was also situated on the road to Qandahar.[34] At about ten *kos* from the above pass, he seized a large quantity of grains and marching thence to the town of Malegaon, the fixed abode of Tanaji, one of Nizam-ul-Mulkis confidential ministers, he dispatched Multafit Khan to reduce the fort and town, which were guarded by Tanaji's brother. Meanwhile news arrived that enemies having moved to a spot within ten *kos* of Qandahar, Azam Khan marched to the town of Rajauri, which is the chief town of *Pargana*varval and took charge of the fort. Where upon the garrison, consisting of Muqarrab Khan's followers, forsook the place and fled away leaving seven guns behind which were added to the royal artillery. The further exploits of this army shall be graphically detailed after the narration of the capture of Qandahar.[35]

**Fort of Qandahar in the Deccan-**Qandahar is the well known fortress in he Deccan, it is always Qandahar in Persian sources.[36]In the same year, Nasiri Khan was appointed with a number of court servants to conquer the country of Tilangana. After the appointment, Nasiri Khan, firstly turned his attention to the reduction of Qandahar fort, which was quite celebrated for its firmness and difficult to be conquered and its custody was under Sadiq, son-in-law of Yaqoot Khan Khudawand[37].

Accordingly, after marching thither and arriving with his comrades within one kos of the fort. When these forces reached near the city, Sarfaraz Khan, the commander of the forces of that country, who had put his forces in order in between the fort and the

[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Ibid.
[36] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire,* sheet-A, p.56
[37] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I. p.374; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.65; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,*Part.B,f. 211a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.I, p.336, Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.445

*Qasbah* and planting the instruments of the fire works (*Atishbazi)* and was standing ready for action.[38]

Nasiri Khan and his comrades charged likewise, and after performing prodigies of valor, overcame the rebels and dispatched a great number to the abode of the perdition. The remainder having taken to flight, Sarfaraz Khan with a few others escaped to Nizam-ul-Mulk's army, and the victors were left in undisputed position of the town, 500 horses, 100 camels, and a vast amount of property, falling into the hands of the royalists. Samander Khan, who was in charge of the place, was killed with 200 of his men; while no less than 5,000 or 6,000 of both sides were taken prisoners, all of whom Nasiri Khan released the same night out of gratitude for his victory.[39]After captured the town and the defeat of the forces outside the fort, Nasiri Khan turned his attention to making preparation for the siege. After opening the trenches, the royalists commenced pushing forward the underground passages, and driving mine tunnels.

After few days, when the approaches from Nasiri Khan's trench had been carried up to the crest of the glacis, the ditch was soon cleared of the party that had been lurking there under cover of the counterscarp. Some of the enemy decamped, and the rest having perished under the heavy matchlock fire, the besiegers pushed forward their trenches and gained a firm footing.[40] In the middle of the ditch, which was about 50 cubits wide, there stood a tomb structure which was occupied by a party of the rebels who annoyed the troops in the trenches by constant discharges of rockets, grenades, and matchlocks. Nasiri Khan therefore drove a mine from his trench under this construction and set it off; where upon the whole structure was blown up from its very foundations and about 200 of the doomed wretches who were inside , perished in the explosion. After this, the royalist army occupied this building.[41] Reassured and encouraged Nasiri Khan prosecuted the siege with redoubled enthusiasm and out of 21 mines in all that he had completed, he charged three with gunpowder and held three others in reserve which he could charge and explode at pleasure. At this time, as Azam Khan had marched to his assistance and arrived in the vicinity of Qandahar.

[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Ibid.
[41] Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.I, p.337; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir-Al-din Ahmad, p.446

Nasiri Khan brought him into his own trenches to view the spectacle of the demolition of the fort and the assault of the brave troops. The mines were accordingly charged and sprung in the presence of Azam Khan, and demolished the wall of Sher Haji.[42]

Nasiri Khan with his comrades, then rushed forward on foot to force an entrance into the fort, and from mid day till sunset, the fight raged furiously on both sides. As the explosion had not destroyed the wall sufficiently, and the garrison kept up a tremendous fire, he was foiled in his attempt to enter; nevertheless he affected a lodgment on the breach, and during the night commenced driving other mines. The garrison now felt that they must soon be crushed. Nasiri Khan consented and sent the Raja Bharat with the requisite pardon to the gateway. Where upon the governor and seven others of the garrison had an interview with him and opened the gate. Nasiri Khan came, next day he presented ten elephants to Azam Khan. Thus after a siege of four and one half months, was this fort captured. As soon as the Adil Khanis and Nizam-ul-Mulkis gained intelligence of the fall of the fort, they marched away grievously disappointed to a distance of 20 *kos* from the royal army.[43]

**Acquisition of the Fort of Galna or Jalna**- It is under Khandesh *suba,* Galna was one of the greatest fortress of Ahmadnagar, and came under Mughal occupation in 1600 A.D, it was, however, lost again and was only re conquered from the Nizam Shahi together with its eight *Parganas* in 1632 A.D.[44] when in 1632A.D, Mahmud Khan, governor of the fort of Galna, had repudiated Fath Khan's (Son of Malik Ambar) authority and set about strengthening the fort. Mahmood Khan further intended to deliver the fort up to Shahji Bhonsle, who had given up servitude of the Imperial court and had acquired territories of Nasik, Tarbang, Sangamnair, together with their garrison and guns, as well as the kingdom of Konkan.[45] Khan Zaman, as soon as heard of Mahmood Khan's intention, he wrote to the commander of fort Lalnag which is near to Galna, to make him hopeful of the Imperial favours and urged

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[42] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*,vol.I, part-I, p.377; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.66; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.B,f. 213a; Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*,vol.I, p.338; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir -Al-din Ahmad,p.449

[43] Ibid.

[44] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire,* sheet- 14A, p.54; Edward Thornton, *A Gazetteer of the territories under the government of the east-India company and of the native states on the continent of India*,pp.433-434

[45] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I, p.442; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* pp.87-88; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*,Part.B, f.254a; Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.I, p.384, Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.457

him that he should not hand over the fort to Shahu. He called him to himself and made him agreeable to it and wrote to Khan-i-Zaman, who sent an *Istamaltnamah* (proposal) to Mahmood Khan.[46]

Accordingly, by means of letters, Mahmood Khan was informed of this proposal, and he assented to it after inviting the other commander to come to him and holding long conversations with him on the subject. When Khan Zaman was apprised of this, he forwarded him a deed of reconciliation by a confidential person. Having made himself acquainted with contents of the deed, Mahmood Khan dismissed Shahu's people whom he had invited for the purpose of delivering over the fort to them, and after sending his grown up sons to Khan-i-Zaman, he commenced evacuating the place.[47]Khan-i-Zaman welcomed youths by recommending them for suitable *mansabs* and granting them robes of honour, horses, elephants and money from the royal treasury. Before their arrival, a munificent *Farman*, which His Majesty at Khan Zaman's solicitation had dispatched together with a robe, jeweled dagger and a horse, was forwarded Mahmood Khan through the hands of Zafar Beg Baluch. On Jafar Beg's approaching Galna, Mahmood Khan came out to meet him, and having received the *Farman* and Presents. The acquisition of this fort was reckoned one of the most important victories of the year.[48]

**Fort of Daulatabad-** Daulatabad fort is a hill-cum land fort, situated nine miles north-west of Aurangabad. The fort is situated on an isolated cone shaped hill of rock rising abruptly from the plain to about 700.[49] The city was originally found by Malik Ambar under whom it was known as Khirki. The city was renamed Aurangzabad by Aurangzeb, when viceroy of the Deccan, sometime between 1636-1642 A.D.[50] Daulatabad , the celebrated fortress had for some time been the capital of the *suba* of the Deccan, after it fell to the Mughals in 1633 A.D and until the capital was transferred to Aurangabad.[51]It is a garrison fort.

[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I, p.444; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.88; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.B,f. 254b
[49] Imperial Gazetteers of India, vol. XI, p.200; J.N. Kamalapur, *The Deccan Forts( A study in the art of fortification in medieval time),* Popular Book Depot, Bombay, 1961,p.106
[50] Sidney Toy, *The Strongholds of India,* William Heinmann Ltd, London,1957, p.33
[51] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, sheet- 14A, p.55

As the day draws to the close the dark silhouette of the Daulatabad fort presents an enigmatic, foreboding picture of the past. The huge sprawling hillock with innumerable, monumental walls rising beneath, arresting the entry of the strongest armies, a clear deterrent against invasions is one of the most unique example of military strongholds of the medieval period.[52]

Conquest of the fort of Daulatabad greatest victory in the sixth regnal year (1633 A.D) of Shahjahan. Fath Khan (son of Anbar Abyssinian) sent his son Abdur Rasool with proper *Peshkash* to the foot of the Imperial throne to submit and the Emperor, as per his request, re granted to him certain *Mahals* which had formerly belonged to him, but had subsequently been bequeathed to Sahuji Bhonsle, when the latter enrolled among the vassals of the crown.[53]As a result, Sahuji Bhonsle had made this a pretext for revolt, and proceeded to join the Bijapuris and Adil Khanis into sending a force along with him under some of his chief officers, to seize the fortress of Daulatabad out of Fath Khan's hand. The latter placed no reliance upon the Nizam-ul-Mulkis, but wrote to Mahabat Khan, Khan-i-Khana informing him that Sahuji Bhonsle had raised the standard of rebellion and was now advancing at the head of the Bijapur army to attack him only on account of his staunch fidelity to the crown.[54]

In this event Fath Khan proposed to deliver over the place to him and set out himself for court. Khan-i-Khana accordingly sent his son Khan Zaman ahead with a detachment of royal army by way of an advance guard. He himself also set out with the main army.[55]

When Khan Zaman reached in the vicinity of Khirki, he made a skillful disposition of his force. When he crossing the pass of Phulneri, he came upon an enemy force amounting to some 7,000-8,000 troops who opposed his further progress. Out of this number, Randola the commander of the Bijapuri force had moved to the left with 3,000-4,000 horse and Sahuji, Meenaji and Ankas along with 4,000 horse remained standing at their place under the protection of the huts.[56]

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[52] Dulari Qureshi, *Fort of Daulatabad*, Bhartiya Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 2004, p.2

[53] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.C,f. 292a; Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.II, p.92; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir –Al-din Ahmad, p.486; Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part-I, p.497, Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, p.97

[54] Ibid.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

The royal army made a furious onset which the enemy managed for a short time to with stand. Royal army engaged them in battle and made them to run as far as the pond of Khirki while killing a following in the process. Randola's force had started off to the left, and some of them now made their appearance in front of the royal right wing, who instantly charged them. Finding themselves obstructed, this force retreated impulsively and joined their main body which lay sheltered behind some rising ground.[57]

The royalist army, not with standing the inferiority of their number, maintained the challenge with unabated energy, Khan Zaman, being apprised of their predicament, hastened with the center to their support, after his arrival a magnificent fight ensued. The rebels however were again overpowered and routed. The Khan proceeded to chase them for four or five *kos*, during which he killed and wounded a vast number. Whereupon he returned and pitched his camp two *kos* from Khirki.[58] After this event, the Bijapuris got terrified with the strikes of the Imperialist and made peace with Fath Khan and settled to leave the fort in his custody and conveyed 3 lakhs *huns* in cash and provisions to the fort. On hearing about it, Khan-i-Khana, who was staying in Zafarnagar, wrote to Khan Zaman to reduce the fortress and chastise, Fath Khan for his untrustworthy behavior, as well as punish the Bijapuris. Randola and Sahuji were then engaged round about Daulatabad in collecting provisions and other requisites for standing a siege.[59] Khan Zaman was instructed to occupy their place with his own men, and to put trusty commanders with suitable detachments on all the roads so that no grain might find its way into the fort. In accordance with this plan of operations, Khan Zaman proceeded to expel the insurgents from the neighborhood of Daulatabad. Meanwhile the Fath Khan took Khairiyat Khan, Randola's paternal uncle, along with about 600 horsemen into the fortresses and busied himself in strengthening the bastions and ramparts. Having thus made up his mind to fight, he made every preparation for war[60].

12th February, 1633A.D, a troop the Bijapuris appeared in the environs of the Imperialists. Khan Zaman requested Deccani chief to keep distracted until he had

[57] Ibid.
[58] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I, p.499; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.98; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.C, f. 293b
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

buckled on his armour but did not wait for Khan Zaman and charged upon the opponents, and then they fled away and rejoined their main army which was standing some distance off. The *Deccani* chiefs, imagining that the enemies were few in number, followed them up and were now hard pressed. Auspiciously, they were rescued from the unequal conflict by the timely arrival of Khan-i-Khana, who pursued the rebels three *kos* further and then returned in triumph to camp.[61]In order to besiege the fort, Khan Zaman fixed Nizampurah with his own residence and sent other officers in the direction of Khirki (Aurangabad).

**Departure of Padshahzadah Mohammad Shah Shuja Bahadur to capture the fort of Parenda-**Among the notable events of this year (1634 A.D) was the expedition of Prince Mohammad Shah Shuja Bahadur and the Army of the Deccan which had been sent captures the fort of Parenda.[62] Since the fort of Parenda was under the occupation of the Nizam-ul-Mulkis. Azam Khan besieged it but raised its siege due to certain adverse circumstances as written before.[63] Parenda Fort was formerly in the possession of Nizam-ul-Mulkis. Adil Khan got it from him after paying three lakhs *Huns* and left Sidi Farhan for guarding it and the cannon named Malik Maidan was brought from here to the fort of Bijapur. When Azam Khan invested this place, he found that Adil Khan, partly by force and partly by bribes turned the governor out and delivered over the fort to one of his own trusty officers.[64]

When Prince Shuja arrived near Burhanpur, he was welcomed by Khan-i-Jahan and after paying his respect, Khan-i-Jahan showed his highness attention to the capture of the fort.[65] Without entering Burhanpur, the Prince immediately set out in that direction accompanied by Khan-i-Jahan, the great nobles and the whole Deccan army. By the Khan-i-Jahan's advice, Prince directed Khan Zaman to march on ahead as quickly as possible with a considerable number of nobles, *mansabdars*, and horse and

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[61] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, part-I, p.500; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.105; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.C, f. 294a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, p.94; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.488

[62] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.128

[63] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part.II, p.32; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.128, Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.C,f. 308a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahaNama,* vol.II, p.21; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.498

[64] Ibid.

[65] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.C,f. 308b; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, p.22; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir -Al-din Ahmad,p.499; Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part. II, p.34

foot armed with muskets and matchlocks. They reached in the enemy's country and burn all the grass and forage.[66]

In these days Sahuji Bhonsle with his followers, had succeeded in releasing a relatives of Nizam-ul-Mulki's who had been confined to the court, and used this as a pretext for mischief and Sahuji had now assembled a force in the neighbourhood of Ahmadnagar to purpose of advancing to the attack of Daulatabad. Khan-i-Jahan suggested, the Prince deputed Khawas Khan with 3,000 horsemen to march towards Ahmadnagar and chastise the rebels. He devastated and plundered the country of Bhonsla and afterwards to proceed to Sangamner and encamp there.[67]

Adil Khan, on getting information of the march of the Imperialists towards Parenda, dispatched Kishanji and Tura with the treasure to render help to the *Qiledar* and appointing Randola and Murari Pandit with the army to guard on the bank of Nala Absin and stay for guarding the fort.[68] When Khan Zaman with his troops reached a *kos* distant from Fort and pitched his camp by the side of a stream, which was the only water to be found in the neighbourhood, and started collecting large supplies of grass and fire wood for the army. The citadel of Parenda is situated in the midst of a plain and there is no undulating ground in its vicinity under cover of which the works can be approached[69].

Khan Zaman himself stayed in the center; place Raja Jai Singh with all the Rajputs in the vanguard to Allah Vardi. Rashid Khan and Asalat Khan with *Barqandazan* in the right wing, Mubariz Khan with all the Afghans in the left wing. Allah Vardi Khan, who undertook the responsibility of driving galleries of mines and planning the parallels of attack, commenced his operations with the utmost energy and vigor. The garrison fired cannons and muskets daily and killed some in the entrenchments and *Radandazan* of the army too killed some by firing through the gapping holes of the fort.[70]

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part.II, p.37; Inayat Khan, *ShahJaha Nama,* p.130; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.C,f. 311a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, p.23; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.501

One day, Sidi Farhan custodian of the fort, was making observations through a whole, sustained a hit of the musket upon his Jugular vein and died on his demise, Adil Khan dispatched a person called Ghalib to succeed him but he too died of the wound caused by the musket. After this a person named Nauras appointed for the same.[71]

24th February, 1634 A.D, the Prince along with the *Sipahsalar* and other officers reached within three *kos* of Parenda, and decided to stay there few days till the arrival of firewood and fodder. Meanwhile signs of the enemy's approach became apparent and it was ascertained that the Bijapuri insurgents and Sahuji with a body of Nizam-ul-Mulkis had agreed to give battle with their combined forces[72].

Next day, it was the turn of Khan-i-Khanan, to provide provender. He appointed for this duty his son Lahrasp, Hakim Khushhal (*Bakhish-i-Dakan*), and some other royal servants and his own *tabinan (*followers*).* The army of Khan-i-Khanan reached ½ *kos* from the main army, about 10,000 horse of the enemy appeared. Knowing however that the enemy were anxious for an engagement, he took the precaution of mounting his horse himself and sending a messenger to Lahrasp to tell him to wait till his arrival. Khan-i-Khanan sent reinforcement for Lahrasp and he himself back went on their back. The enemies engaged the Imperialists in the battle and drew them towards their larger army and surrounded them in a circle.[73]In this critical condition, Mahesh Das Rathore (leading Rajput of Khan-i-Khanan, Commander-in-chief) formed his vanguard and Raghunath Bhatti and other Officers maintained their steps steadily and became engaged with the army in front of them, and Lahrasp also executed the boldest feast of daring. After performing prodigies of valor, the heroes resolved to sacrifices even their lives for their master and thus perished on the field.[74] As soon as Khan Dauran heard this intelligence he quickly mounted all the men that he had wisely kept under arms in preparation foe an emergency and started off at full speed. Ghairat Khan and Abdullah Khan Bahadur and some other officers got permission from the court to accompany him. The whole force now amounting nearly 2500 horse, reached on the bank of river, charged against the rebels who were pressing upon the Commander-in-chief's fear and after driving them off, they then fell upon those engaged with his right flanks. Having routed both these, they attacked the enemy in

[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

Khan-i-Khanan's front who had unhorsed Mahesh Das and the rest, and soon dispersed them also.[75] Upon it, the enemy fled and Khan-i-Khanan and Khan Dauran turned their reins and reached in the environs of the *urdu* where Padshahzadah was standing riding ready to depart on hearing about this warfare.[76] Next day, Prince marched to Parenda and alighted near Khan Zaman's encampment where they had mad a walled enclosure. On that day, about 500 persons issued out the fort and raided the entrenchment of Raja Pahar Singh. A sharp struggle issued in which several of the enemy were killed and wounded. The enemy did not find enough strength in themselves to maintain the fray and retreated.[77] After Another day's interval, Khan-i-Khanan again set out on a foraging excursion. He himself formed the right wing for the supplies to the left of which were placed Khan Zaman and some other officers. After covering 5-6 *kos* with the provisions, the enemy force appeared, Khan-i-Khanan sent a message to Khan Zaman to go at a distance of the shooting of two arrows and keep watch to the left of the supplies so that the enemies could not reach as far as them. He was attacked by the enemies but he kept his step steady and began to disperse them with the strikes of the swords and arrows and suffered with some losses as killed and wounded.[78]

Khan-i-Jahan, Khan Dauran and Mabariz Khan and other *mansabdarans*, who had the turn to guard the supplies, departed in the morning and the Dakanyan, on getting informed about it, 2,000 of the hostile cavalry showed near the camp and the rest would go towards the supplies. On hearing it, the Commander-in-chief deputed Lahrasp to go out side the camp and confront them, but on noticing his departure, they went off likewise to attack the foraging party.[79]

As soon as the enemy began discharging rockets, Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan and Khan Dauran concentrated the foragers and set out on their return. Meanwhile, one of the enemy's rockets had struck a camel laden with grass, and three being a high wind blowing, the flames were soon communicated to the other beasts of burden carrying

[75] Ibid.
[76] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part.II, p.39; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.C, f. 313a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, p.24; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir –Al-din Ahmad, p.502
[77] Ibid.
[78] Ibid.
[79] Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part.II, p.41; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, p.132; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,*Part.C,f. 318a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, p.25; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, ed. Maulvi Kabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.503

grass and firewood. The ground too was covered with long grass and this also ignited. As a result, many camels and bullocks, two elephants, some horses and some men were lost.[80]

When Khan-i-Jahan was aware of this circumstance, he instantly sending news to Khan Zaman to tell him to come as quickly as possible. He had only gone a short way; he returned back and joined Khan-i-Jahan. The enemies were moving ahead with the camels and oxen under the commander ship of Yaqut Khan. But to see the well decorated of royal army, they gave up steadiness and fled. Khan-i-Khanan with other officers returns back to vanguard.[81]

Another day, it was the turn of Khan Zaman for forage duty, and he started off with his division.When Khan-i-Jahan got the information that the enemy had the intension to raid the provisions. He moved with his troops to face the enemy. Towards evening, it turned out that Randoulah, Yaqut Khan's grandson and other rebels had taken up positions close to the mining trenches, all with their forces. Allah Wardi Khan attacked on enemies with the strikes of arrows and muskets, killed army and rendered another following lying on the ground severely wounded. From among his men, as well as Jagraj's Rajputs and Asalat Khan's soldier, a few were also wounded, but the rebel could not sustain fight and were completely vanquished.[82]

12th March, the Prince as per the advice of Khan-i-Jahan, directed Khan Zaman, Raja Jai Singh, and some other nobles to mount two or three hours before day break and proceeded to fall the rebels. When enemies got this new, they had patched up all their baggage, so that the latter foiled in seizing and plundering it. Raja Jai Singh, who commanded the vanguard and was the first to come up with them, took several prisoners. Raja Jai Singh dispersed the rebel with the help of other royal officers. The enemy fled and pursued for four *kos* by the victors.[83]

**Operations against Shahuji and Nizam-ul-Mulkis disturbances and Forts of the vicinity of Nizam-ul-Mulk**-In 1637 A.D, on of the important incidents of this year was the dispatch of three victorious armies against Shahuji and the other Nizam-ul-

[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*,Part.C,f.319a; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama,* vol.II, p.27
[83] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama,* Part.C, f. 320a; Lahori, *Badshah Nama,* vol.I, Part.II, pp. 47-48; Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.134

Mulkis insurgents and to reduce the remaining fort in the vicinity of Nizam-ul-Mulk.[84]

Nizam-ul-Mulkis being imprisoned in the fortress of Gwalior. Shahuji showed Sympathy with their Family and promised to support them against Majesty, now he had gained possession of several forts and palaces in the territory of Nizam-ul-Mulk. When Majesty got this information, appointed three different forces for the suppression of Shahuji and rebel of Nizam-ul-Mulkis, respectively under the command of Khan Dauran Bahadur, Khan Zaman and Shaista Khan.[85]

The first of the three forces was commanded by Khan Dauran and consisted of various nobles and a large number of *Mansabdars*, Decanis and with 1,000 *ahadi* archers and matchlockmen and whole amounting to near 20,000 horsemen. This force was directed towards Qandahar and Nander. In Khan Zaman's force were consisted some nobles, large number of *mansabdars*, Decanis and some followers of Raja Jagat Singh, total numbering near about 20,000 horsemen. Third force under the command of Shaista Khan including with some nobles, *mansabdars*, Decanis and 2,000 men of Yamin-ud-DaulaAsaf Khan, making about 8,000 in all. This force was entrusted with the task of capturing the forts of Junnar[86], Sangamner[87], Nasik[88] and other places.

The news reached the royal ear that Shahuji, rebelled Nizam-ul-Mulkis and followers of Shahuji captured some forts which situated in the district of Chandor and Dhohrab. For this suppression, Allah Vardi Khan, who served under Shaista Khan's command along with Yakkataz Khan and 2,000 horsemen of that force, to set about reducing the fort.[89] Shaista Khan's report , that the fort of Masji, through the exertion of Ahmad Khan Niazi had been wrested out of the possession of Shahuji's followers and brought into of subjection.[90]

Udai Bhan (son of Jujhar Singh),and his younger brother , who had managed to go out of the battle field half dead and conveyed themselves to vicinity of Golkunda, were prisoner by Qutub-ul-Mulk and sent to the refuge of Khawaq in court with someone.

[84] Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.C,f. 387a
[85] Ibid.
[86] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of Mughal Empire*, sheet-A, p.55
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid., sheet-7A
[89] Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.II, p.142
[90] Ibid.

His Majesty handed over the younger brother Udai Bhan to Firoz Khan, in order that he might make him a Muslim man and bring him up along with Jagraj's son. It was ordered that if they accepted Islam, they should be granted.[91]

Adil Khan Proceeded and had written a friendly letter to rebel Shahuji and sent Randola with a detachment to this assistance. After receiving this news Majesty deputed Sayyid Khan-i-Jahan, with some other nobles, and Khalil Allah Khan, the *Mir Atish*, with 500 matchlock men and a number of *mansabdars* and Decanis, amounting altogether to 12,000 horsemen to go and chastise that "torpid sluggard of the desert of forgetfulness". Majesty further directed that the previously dispatched armies of Khan Dauran and Khan Zaman, along with this new force. They proceeded to disperse the Adil Khan's dominions and to punish Randola and Shahuji. The various forces were to make the territory of Bijapur such a scene of horror and devastation as to force both rebels and Adil Khan to return the royal authority, in order to save them from being annihilated.[92]

It was learned from Shaista Khan's report that on the capture of fort Kohir, the governor of the stronghold of Kohir by the aid of good fortune had tendered his submission and imprisoned all of the rebel Shahuji's men who were in the fort, surrendered both the place itself and its surrounding *Parganas*, to the servants of the crown.[93]

**Devgadh Fort**- In 1644 A.D. Itiqad Khan (*Subedar* of Patna), sent some men to cut down the forest and clear the roar to Palamau, when he learned about the garrison of the fort of Devgadh was busy in strengthening the fort. After some days, Zabardast Khan received information that Tej Rai was making preparation for war.[94] He had sent his *vakil* Madan Singh Thakurai from Devgardh to locality Baoli Jiwan with a party of his supporters and about 300 cavalry and 7,000 infantry, and also two other forces to Morih and Kandih. When a detachment from the force stationed at Baoli Jiwan advanced five *kos* with intent to make a night attack, a corresponding party was detached from the royalists to chastise the villains, and having participated themselves

[91] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part.II, p.140; Inayat Khan, *ShahJaha Nama*, p.169; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.C,f. 389a; Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.II, p.143; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, ed. MaulviKabir –Al-din Ahmad,p.530

[92] Ibid.

[93] Ibid.

[94] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.358; Inayat Khan, *ShahJaha Nama*, p.307; Mohammad Salih Kanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.II, p.289; Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab*, Part.I, p.599

on the rebels, they killed and wounded a great number and put the survivors to flight.[95]

**Conquest of Fort Kanur-** In 1644 A.D, among the successful achievements of this year was the capture of the fort Kanur[96], due to the efforts of Khan Dauran Nusrat Jang.[97]The former *Zamindar* of fort Kanur, Sangram Gond had always been distinguished for his loyalty to the crown. After his death, one of his servants, named Maru Gond, who was formerly charged with the protection of the fort. Maru became rebellious and did not pay proper land revenue to the crown. Kanur was under the governor of Malwa (Khan Dauran Bahadur), also raised objections to paying the customary taxes.[98] Due to it, Khan Nusrat Jang along with his own *tabinan* and the reinforcing forces of *Suba* Malwa and some of the *Zamindars* of the fort Raisain, which was the place of his residence. On reaching the rebels territory, the royalists halted for some days for the purpose of cutting down the forests and clearing the road. On arriving at the hill pass of Kanur, Khan Dauran routed with very little trouble some 5,000 Gond infantry and 700-800 matchlock men that the insurgents had posted at the summit, with a view to prevent his progress. He then took up a permanent position in the vicinity of that place, for the purpose of passing the rainy season and felling the forests surrounding the fort.[99] The rebel Maru disheartened upon seeing the efficient siege equipment and vast magnitude of Khan Dauran's force. Therefore he decided to appease the royalists. He brought Bhupat with some of the late Sangram's followers, but where upon Khan Dauran imprisoned the whole lot of them and place the latter under strict surveillance. As Maru would not surrender the fort to the servants of the crown. Khan Dauran attacked along with his army. Maru was now impelled by his fears to sue for mercy, and on receiving a consolatory reply, he repaired to an interview with Khan Dauran Bahadur.[100]

On the next day, the Khan and his comrades entered the stronghold. After minutely inspecting the forts towers and battlements, and leaving his own brother with 500

[95]Ibid.
[96] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire,* sheet 7A, p.22, this fort is situated in the region of the North West provinces.
[97] Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*, vol.II, p.308
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.

horses and 700 foot matchlock men to guard it, Khan Dauran and his troops then returned triumphantly to camp.[101]

**Conquest of the fort of Mansurgarh**-In 1630 A.D, among the important events of this year was the capture of the fort of Mansurgarh in Orissa. The identification with Mansur Kotta of mod. It is situated 4 *kurahs* from Kheraparah.[102] In the course of the Past year, Vaqar Khan NajmSani, the Governor (*Subedar*) of Orissa, had proceeded to Khairaparah, two *kos* from the Chhatardawar and narrow pass in the confines of Qutub-ul-Mulk's territory bordering Orissa. This pass is so difficult to access that, if occupied by a handful of matchlock men and archers, anyone could be prevented from passing.[103] He had gone there, and spoiled and destructed its environs and sides, and since the rainy season set in, he made no attempt upon the fort of Mansurgarh and returned back. This fort had been built by a slave of Qutub-ul-Mulk named Mansur on that side of Kheraparah at a distance of 4 *kos*.[104]

After the expiry of the rainy season, Vaqar Khan accompanied with the royal comrades proceeded towards Khera parah with the troops serving in Orissa and some of his own followers. Whereupon, Qutub-ul-Mulk's chief collected their scattered troops together to the number of 3000 cavalry and 2000 infantry, and having strengthen the defenses of the fort in question, they then stood in readiness for hostilities.[105]

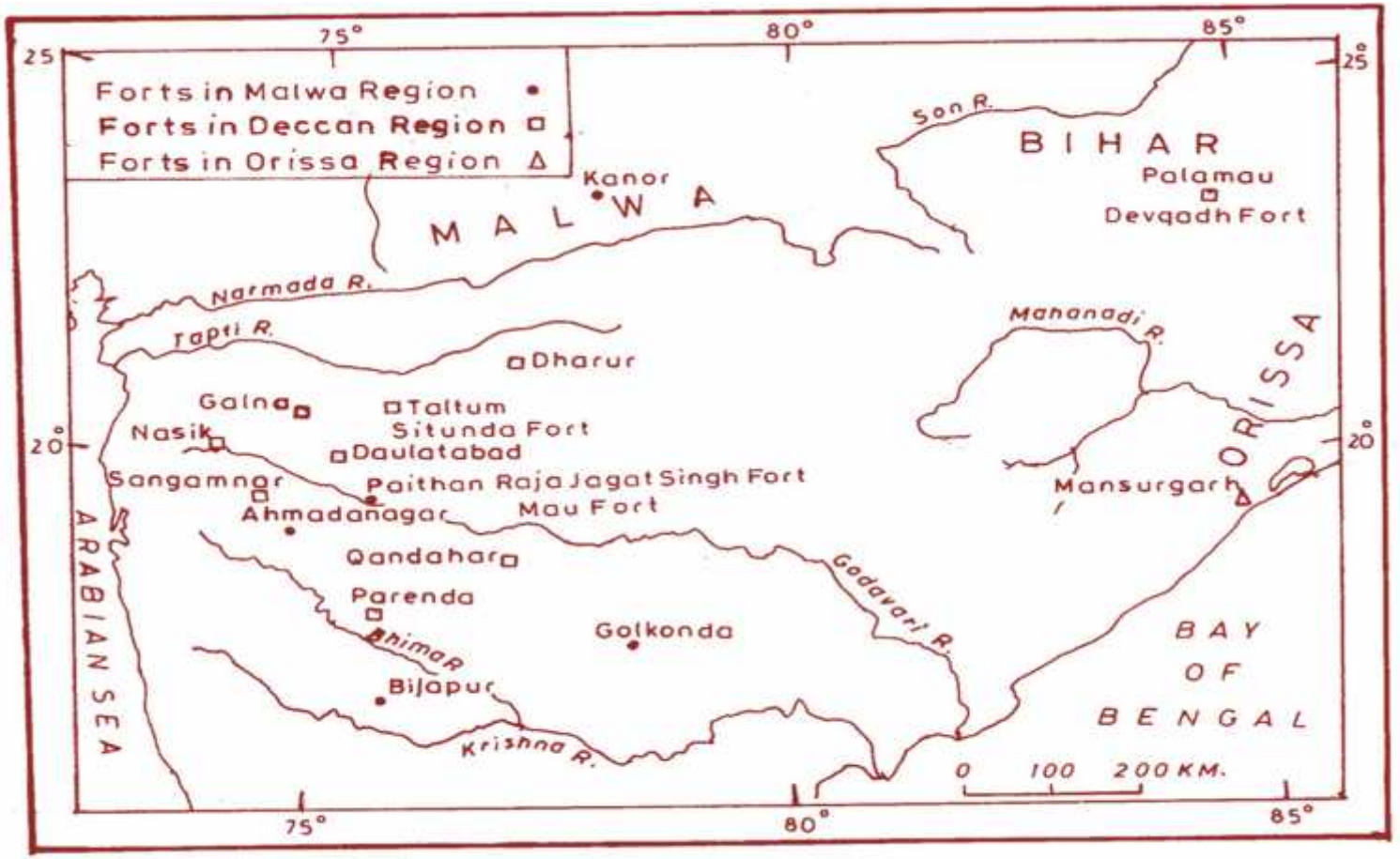
Vaqar Khan marched towards the vicinity of Mansurgarh with the royal troops and *zamindars* of Khallikot and Khudkawala, who had placed themselves under his order. The enemy had resolved on giving battle. The heavy firing of the guns, matchlocks, rockets and fire arms of the enemy form the fort, which made the field of battle gleam like a globe of fire, the royalist engaged fiercely in the contest. Meanwhile, Vaqar Khan sent his maternal uncle with the vanguard to oppose the enemy's commander. He himself charged the main body of the *Deccanis*, who were drawn up in line four deep. Being unequal to the shock, the enemy broke and fled, closely persuaded by the

[101] Ibid.
[102] Irfan Habib, *An Atlas of the Mughal Empire*, sheet-12A, p.50
[103] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*,vol.I, p.333; Inayat Khan, *ShahJaha Nama*, p.48; Qazvini, *Badshah Nama*, Part.B,f. 191a
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

royal army and a vast number of them prisoners and captured several horses. Those of the enemy, who survived, fled and took refuge in the forests and mountains.[106]

After the victory, Vaqar Khan engaged to reduce of the fort. In spite of the artillery and musketry fire, he advanced to the foot of the wall and planted the scaling ladders that had been prepared for the assault, and thereupon commenced the ascent. The garrison, dispirited by their previous defeat and suffering from the difficulties and wanted begged for all previous events. Vaqar Khan allowed him to evacuate the citadel without molestation. Where upon after placing a trustworthy follower in charge and also leaving a *mansabdar* named Safi Quli Beg behind to occupy Kherapara, he himself retraced his steps to Orissa. The capture of this fort reckoned one of the most courageous exploits of this year.[107]

[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid.




**Map 06: Showing Sieges of the Forts under Shahjahan**

# Chapter -5

# ARMY ORGANISATION UNDER SHAHJAHAN

## Administration of the Army

The Mughal military system was a combination of Mongol mobility, Turk discipline and tenacity; and Persian sophistication and organizational ability. On the arrival of Babur in India the system proved so effective that other independent and semi-independent states within the country began to either copy it or borrow from it. The system was at its most effective until the time of Akbar after which it went into steady decline.[1]

With the arrival of the Mughals in India, certain changes took place, especially during Akbar, he developed it on his own lines to suit the requirements of his Empire. During Mughals the term *Bakhshi* was used for military officers. *Bakhshi* is a word probably from the Sanskrit *Bhikshu* which appears in east Turki and Persia during the Mongol period.[2]In the Empire of the Indian Mughals, the *Bakhshi* was an official of a high rank who had charge of the registration and pay of the troops.[3]

## Central Administration of the Army

The Mughal Empire, like the Sultanate, was by its nature a military rule and therefore, necessarily, a centralized despotism. In time it tried to grow roots in the soil but retained its basic military character to the very end. Shahjahan also followed the same system as that of his predecessors. Every official, including ecclesia carried a *Mansab* or military rank which determined his pay and status. Even the official in charge of the royal kitchen carried a *Mansab* of 600.[4]

The primary department for the army was under a *Bakhshi* but only slightly important military departments were under a *Mir Bahari* (admiral) and an *Akhtabegi* (Superintendent of remounts and stables).[5]

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[1] Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India,* Vision Books Pvt.Ltd, New Delhi, 2003, p.567
[2] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, Oxford University Press, London, 1936, p.213
[3] Ibid.
[4] Major General Gurcharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*,p.567
[5] Ibid., p. 568

Military departments under his overall control were *Sahib-i-tawji*( controller military Accounts) and a *Nazir-i-buyutat* (chief Supervisor workshops including manufacture of arms and stores.[6] The Emperor personally supervised the armed forces and attended too much of the detail as the commander-in-chief.

Before tracing the development of the institution of *Mir Bakhshi* under Shah Jahan and the power, function exercised and position occupied by him in the hierarchy of officials, it would be appropriate to give the biographical details of all the dignitaries who adorned this high office and to discuss the plurality of functions discharged by them from time to time.

**List of Mir *Bakshis* under Shahjahan[7]**

| Name of Mir Bakshi | Time period |
|---|---|
| Iradat Khan | Continued for a short time |
| Sadiq Khan | First year to sixth year(1628-1633 A.D) |
| Islam Khan Mashhadi | Sixth to eight year (1633-1635 A.D) |
| Mir Mohammad AmirJumlaSharistani | Eight to tenth year (1635-1637 A.D) |
| Mutamad Khan Mohammad Sharif | Tenth to thirteenth year (1637-1640 A.D) |
| Salabat Khan RaushanDAmir | Thirteenth to seventeenth year (1640-1644 A.D) |
| Asalat Khan Mir Abdul Hadi | Seventeenth to twentieth year (1644-1647 A.D) |
| Zafar Khan Umadat-ul-Mulk | Twentieth to twenty third year (1647-1650 A.D) |
| Khalil Ullah Khan | Twenty third to twenty fourth year (1650-1651 A.D) |
| Mahabat Khan Mirza Lahrasp | Twenty fourth to twenty fifth year (1651-1652 A.D) |
| (Itiqad Khan Mirza) BahmanYar | Twenty fifth to end of the thirtieth year (1652-1657 A.D) |
| Danishmand Khan | Thirty first year and resigned in the same year (1657 A.D) |
| Amin Khan Mir Mohammad Amin | Thirty first year.(1658 A.D) |

[6] Ibid.
[7] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, ed. W.E. Begley and Z.A.Desai, Delhi, 1990, p.37

It would further help to point out the racial extraction, the quantum of their *mansab*, the multiplicity of obligations enjoyed by them as well as the validity of their official utilization with a view to their postings to the most challenging jobs confronting the Empire. He was the head of the military department and looked after recruitment, reviews and other similar affairs connected with army. He was assisted by a subordinate *Bakhshi* called the second *Bakhshi*.[8] When armies were on the move a separate *Bakhshi* was attached to each division and they were probably individually responsible to the chief or Mir *Bakhshi*.[9]

**The role of Mir *Bakhshi* in *Mansabdari* System** –Though for administrative purposes, the Mughal army was divided into five departments- Cavalry, Elephantry, Artillery, Infantry and Navy, yet the cavalry enjoyed a dominant position.[10] The medieval sultans of India had always, looked upon horsemen as the only effective soldiers in their armies.[11]The Mughals, too, looked upon cavalry as the main arm of their forces.[12]

On a number of occasions the leading nobles of the Empire, particularly governors of provinces and commanders of military expeditions, recommended persons for appointment to the Emperor. Their recommendations were generally accepted and *mansabs* were conferred on persons recommended by them.[13]

The institution of the army and the *Mansabdari* system interpenetrate each other, so that the one is incomplete without the other. It is an important feature of the Mughal administration that all civil officers, high and low were chosen from the holders of the military rank, i.e., the *Mansabdars*.

So we find that the *Mansabdari* system is the army, the peerage and the civil administration all rolled into one. The *mansab*, although primarily a military rank really constituted the terms in which official hierarchy, an incidentally social status, was expressed. A *mansab* did not by itself imply any particular office.[14]In a sense the history of the Mughal army is the history of the *Manasabdari* system covers a much

[8] B.P.Saxena, *History of ShahJahan of Dihli*, Central Book Depot,Allahabad,1976,p.276
[9] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Bibliotheca Indica, p.241
[10] William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*, New Delhi,1962,p.57
[11] I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, Delhi,1995, p.134
[12] Ibid., p.114
[13] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*, Idarah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, 2009, p.33
[14] Ibid., pp.1-2

wider field than the army, while some portions of the army were not under *Mansabdars*.[15] The composition of the army, it is necessary to form a tolerably clear idea of the graduated organization. At once military official and aristocratic known as the *Mansabdari* system and its incidents and implications.

*Mansabdari* system is the most highly developed form-for instance in the reign of Shahjahan. He introduced *yak-aspa, do-aspa* and *si-aspa*. Now about *do-aspa* and *si-aspa* , the 2-3 horse rank.[16]

The quality of the Mughal army, therefore, depended upon the leaders chosen under the *Mansabdari* system and the soldiers recruited and presented by them, the government, speaking generally rested upon their loyalty and their efficiency.[17]

*MirBakhshi's* duties related to *Mansabdars* are given below in the brief:

The *Mir Bakhshi* issued certificates (*Dastak*) under his seal and signature for the following purposes.[18]

1. Grants of *mansab*, and sanctions of increments to the princes and other royal personage, *Amirs* of high rank, and other high officials (all the high officials even *Diwan*, *Mir Bakhshi* himself, *Sadr-us-Sudur*, and *Mir Saman* etc. held *mansab*.)
2. Muster of troops.[19]
3. Branding of the horses.
4. Branding and verification of the troops of high *Amirs* and *Mansabdars*, required in their death or dismissal.[20]
5. Appointment of the *Darogha*, *Amir* and *Mushrifs* for the branding and verification of troops attached to the king, and the postings of the same to provinces and different armies.[21]

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[15] Ibid.

[16] Lahori, *Badshah Nama***,** vol**.**I**,** op.cit., p. 113

[17] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army,* p.182

[18] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire,* p.226

[19] Ibid.
Musters were very common in the reigns of great Mughals in India. The march past of the army of a Prince or a great noble in the reign of ShahJahan Or the soldiers and the horses of the *Mansabdars* after *Dagh-o-Chehra*(branding and verification) in the case of fresh appointments, and at regular intervals in cases of permanent officers, were also presented by the *Bakhshis* before the King. This duty performed by other *Bakhshis* also. The presence of *MirBakhshi* was not essential.

[20] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire,* p.226, this was considered necessary for the settlement of the accounts of salaries on the basis of the troops actually in his service at that particular time.

[21] Ali Mohammad Khan, *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, tr. M. F. Lokhandwala, Baroda oriental Institute**,** 1965, p.152

We find *usually Mir Bakhshis presented all* the candidates for service before the king.[22] The *Mir Bakhshi* kept the following records in his offices:

List of *Mansabdars* stationed at the capital and deputed to provinces, accounts and demands due from *Mansabdars*, abstract of pay bills, *Dastur-ul-amal* (regulations) governing the salaries in cash and *Jagir* and the conversion of *Jagirs* into cash salaries, list of the rank of *Mansabdars* and the salaries drawn by them, and the manner in which they were drawn, descriptive rolls (*Chehra*) of *Mansabdars* and *Sawars*, records of branding and verification, records of the attendance of *Mansabdars* in the provinces and different armies, he secured the bonds of surety from the newly appointed *Mansabdars* and soldiers, and preserved theses papers in his custody.[23]

For this duty the *Mir Bakhshi* was assisted by two other *Bakhshis* at the center.[24]*Mir Bakhshi* called the first *Bakhshi*, his assistants were called second and third *Bakhshis* respectively. In Shahjahan's reign the number was increased to three.[25] Mostly all the three *Bakhshis* were in attendance in the various audiences of the monarchy.[26]The work load among them was divided in accordance with the rank of the *Mansabdars*.[27]The first *Bakhshi* related to the affairs of the royal Princes and the highest *Mansabdars*, the second *Bakhshi* was related with the second grade *Mansabdars*, the third *Bakhshi* related to the lowest. There was a complete procedure of the various papers and the maintenance of the records.

Hence it is gleaned from the above that the *Mir Bakhshi* ranked as one of the top most officials of immense trust , responsibility and importance in Empire and was entrusted with the significant job of the intensely supervising the entire *Mansabdari* system, which was considered the most important institution of the Mughal Empire.

***Mir Bakhshi's* Department and *Ahadis*-** Regarding *Ahadis*[28] department under the Mughal Empire. There are many brave and worthy persons whom his Majesty does

[22] R. K. Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughal* , New Delhi,1978, p.37
[23] Ibn Hasan, *Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, pp.226-227
[24] Ibid.
[25] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I p.279, Mutamad Khan, the second *Bakhshi* (During the ShahJahan's reign) by the right of seniority in services was appointed the *MirBakhshi*.
[26] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, pp.147,153
[27] I. H. Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p. 78
[28] I.H.Qureshi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.79, Here was a separate *Bakhshi* for the *Ahadis*.

not appoint to a *mansab*, but whom he frees from being under the orders of anyone. Such persons belong to the immediate servants of his majesty, and dignified by their independence. They go through the school of learning their duties, and have their knowledge tested. As it is the aim of external, he calls such persons *Ahadis*[29]. For the sake of the convenience of the *Ahadis*, a separate *Diwan* and a paymaster were appointed, and one of the great *Amirs* as their chief. Without partiality or accepting bribes, he takes daily before his majesty. When they have been approved of, they passed for service. *Ahadis* are mustered every four months, when a certificate signed by the *Diwan* and *Bakhshi*, which is called now a day *tashiha*, the clerk of the treasury writes out a receipt, to counter signed by the principal grandees.[30]An *Ahadis* generally finds his own horse; but afterwards he gets it from the government, and if the certificate of the inspectors, which is called *Saqatnama*, explains the reason why the horse is not forthcoming he is held indemnified for his dead horse, but does not receive the money for keeping a horse until he gets a new one. But if he has no *Saqatnama* to show, he is not allowed anything from the time of the last muster."[31]

Lahori's *Badshah Nama*[32] gives the detail of *Ahadis* during the Shahjahan's reign; Shahjahan maintained 7000 *Ahadis* in his 1647 A.D. Mohammad Waris[33] mentioned that Shahjahan sent about 5000 *Ahadis* including archers, gunners, and musketeers, on each of the three expeditions to Qandahar in 1649, 1652 and 1653.

Many civilians had the ranks of *Ahadis*, being employed in administration and clerical capacities. They were not organized as a fighting force and were employed mostly for household duties.

Hence, from above it has been confirmed that the process applied by the Mughal government in the appointments fixation of salaries etc. was quite similar to the one which was applied in the case of *Mansabdars* and the *Mir Bakhshi* played an important role in all the affairs related to the *Ahadis*[34].

[29] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, ed., W.E.Begley & Z.A.Desai, Oxford University Press, New York, 1990, pp. 470-471
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II,p.715
[33] Mohammad Waris, *Badshah Nama*, Ms.38, Seminar Library, C.A.S. Department of History. A.M.U., Aligarh, pp.446-47
[34] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, pp.716-17

### *Mir Bakhshi* and his duties relating to army

Firstly, *Mir Bakhshi* prepared a written statement called "*Haqiqat"*[35]of the candidate, which contained details like the name of the applicant and his father, his native place and other special qualifications. The Sovereign, if impressed, issued orders for an interview. The person was brought before him in the audience hall. The candidate had to offer a present (*nazr*) or a sort of service fee (*khidmatana)*[36], but merit was the most essential qualification for the appointment of any *Mansabdar* or official.[37]

Secondly, the newly appointed officer brought surety for good conduct (*tamasak-i-hazir-zamini)*[38] credentials were verified from his patron noble. The *Mir Bakhshi* issued a certificate called *'tasdiq'*[39] stating that he was granted such and such *mansab* (both *zat* and *sawar*). It also contained *Bakhshi's* order that the case should be entered into the 'record of events (*Waqiah).*[40] The events writer (*waqiya-navis)* made an appropriate entry in his records and sent back an extract called *'yaddasht'*[41] or a sort of pay bill to *Mir Bakhshi's* office, then it was sent to the office of superintendent of revision endorsed it by stating," on such and such date , month and year, it was brought for the second time"[42]

Before a *Mansabdar* was entitled to get his pay, he had to secure the descriptive rolls of his relatives and horses from the superintendent of banding department. This certificate contained the particulars given below:

Once all the above mentioned papers had been submitted to the *Mir Bakhshi's* office, a special estimate of the officer's salary called '*taliqah'*[43] was prepared. It also contained particulars like the grantee's rank (*zat and sawar),* his salary etc. A *taliqah* was in the form of an executive order, which authorized the person concerned to get his salary from the state.

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[35] Ibid.
[36] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama,* p.475
[37] Major General Gurucharan Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India,* p.543
[38] R.K.Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughals,* p.36
[39] Ibid., p.37
[40] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p.93*
[41] Ibid.
[42] M.Athar Ali, "Mansab and Imperial Policy under Shah Jahan", p.6
[43] Ibid.

A copy of this estimate called *sarkhat*[44] was handed over to the officer. It was of great importance because it was on this basis that the *Diwan* made entries in his records which he placed before the king for sanction. The sanction thus obtained, was again reported to *Mir Bakhshis* and it was after his signature and seal that the document was considered complete.[45]

The *Mir Bakhshi* of the Mughal Empire enjoyed all the powers of the *Diwan-i-Arz*, as the head of the department.[46]

The *Mir Bakhshi* in the administrative machinery of the central government,[47]his main duties were- departmental work, presentation of candidates for service, presentation of soldiers and horses for inspection, presentation of high officials and visitors before the king, presentation of the names of the guards of the palace for rewards.

The *Mir Bakhshi* at the capital nominating the guards of the palace. Summoning the *masabdars*, receiving the news reports from the provinces to be put before the king. The *Mir Bakhshi* on tours with the king.[48]

As the head of the military department, he was in touch with every *Mansabdar* and hence his presence in the *darbar* formed a part of his permanent duties.[49] *Mir Bakhshi* and his other colleagues on the battlefield, in three different capacities-General supervisors of the army and its arrangement, as commanders, working under Prince or any other high Amir.

***Bakhshis* in the Battle field.**[50] If the king accompanied the army, the *MirBakhshi* presented before him on the morning of a battle, the muster roll[51] and the number of troops under each commander. He also set the plans of the army and assigned posts to

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[44] Ibid.
[45] U.N.Day, *The Mughal Government***,** p.49
[46] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire, p.*215
[47] Ibid.,p.210
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.,p.216
[50] Ibid.,p.223
[51] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Alexander Rodgers and ed. Henry Beveridge, vol.I, Delhi, 1968 pp.374-75, mentioned the contingent of Itimad-ud-Daulah passed before me in review on the plain under the *Jharokha*, there were 2000 cavalry well horsed, most of whom were Moghuls, 500 foot armed with bows and guns, and fourteen elephants. The *Bakhshi* reckoned them up and reported that this force was fully equipped and according to rule.

the commanders in the van, center, right and left wings, and the rear guard[52] but sometimes the king formulated the plan of the battle in his capital before the dispatch of the armies, and it was strictly adhered to on the battle field.[53]The distribution of loans, the advancement of money and the payment of salaries formed the chief duty of the *Bakhshi* of the army in active service.[54] Under Shahjahan the military plans were usually settled before the dispatch of the armies, definite instructions were issued to the commanding officers, and they always kept themselves in touch with the King whose personal experience was much greater than that of many of his generals. When armies were sent into the field a separate *Bakhshi* was attached to each division and in most cases the duty of *Waqianavis* (news-reporter) was also assigned to him.[55] And regular reports were forwarded to the king and the Central government.

There were three different positions in which the *Mir Bakhshi* or any of his colleagues could be present on the battle field.

Firstly, If the Emperor led the army personally, as Akbar usually did, or accompanied the army to supervise the arrangements and ensure efficiency and unity among the officers, as Shahjahan generally did on all important occasions, the chief *Bakhshi* performed his ordinary duties as on tours.[56] Secondly, he could be placed in charge or give complete command of the expedition. In such cases, he acted like an ordinary military general or the commanding officer.[57] Thirdly, he could be sent with an army placed directly under the charge of some prince or high *Amir*. In such a case the *Bakhshi* would be deputed only when the expedition was an important one or [58] his presence was necessitated by any emergency.[59]

Lastly the *Mir Bakhshi* and his colleagues took part in active hostilities and fought on the field like other officers.[60] Under Shahjahan, Sadiq Khan, the *Mir Bakhshi*, took

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[52] Shahabuddin Abdul Fahman, "Conduct of Strategy and tactics of war During the Muslim rule in India",Islamic culture, vol.20, 1946, pp.160-161

[53] Mohammad SalihKanbu, *ShahJahanama*,vol.I Majlis-i-TarraqiAdab, Narsingdas Garden, Club Road, Lahore, 1958, p.462

[54] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.555

[55] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, Part-I, p.241 gives, when Mahabat Khan was sent against Jujhar Singh, Islam Khan was appointed *Bakhshi* to his army; also mentioned vol.I, part II, p. 136, Ishaq Beg Yazdi was appointed *Bakhshi* and *Waqiahnavis* to a contingent in the Deccan army.

[56] Hidayat Ullah Bihari, *Hidayat-ul-Qawayad,* Abdus Salam collection, A.M.U, p.1

[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibn Hasan, *The central structure of the Mughal Empire*,p.223

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.,p.224

part in the battle against Abdullah Khan Lodi.[61]Asalat Khan, *Bakhshi* was deputed against Raja Jagat Singh and he himself commanded one section of the army.[62]

In 1646 A.D, when Prince Murad Bakhsh was sent off to Balkh with a victorious army, Asalat Khan *Mir Bakhshi* was appointed to the Centre of the right wing.[63]Asalat Khan, The *Mir Bakhshi*, and KhalilUllah Khan, the second *Bakhshi* took a very prominent part in the Balkh expedition and were conspicuous by their distinguished services in the field in the nineteen and twentieth year of the Shahjahan's reign.[64]

In addition to taking part in battles, the *Mir Bakhshi* could take steps which he thought necessary from militaristic point of view and sometimes important decisions relating to military strategy was taken instant, Consultations with him. For improving the mobility of their armies the Mughal Emperors paid great attention to the work of building, roads and bridges on the rivers in their empire, and called upon their nobles to do the same in their *Jagirs*.

Thus we find, the *Mir Bakhshi* was entrusted with other duties, too, which were related to the army and strategy of warfare. The *Mir Bakhshi* should pay attention to the problems and affairs of the soldiers with consideration and should busy himself in seeking their pleasure. He should keep the soldiers always present in *sawari* and *chauki* at the time of confrontation with the enemy. He should boost their courage and bravery and should shower praises upon them even though may be lacking in qualities, deserving such praise. If he acquires this proficiency and attains these qualities in the performance of his job he would become popular and would endear himself to the high and low.[65]The *Bakhshis* were also responsible for the recruitment and efficiency of the directly recruited troops.

Thus from above references it becomes clear that the *Mir Bakhshi* could be considered as the Head of the military Department and as such, the chief representative of the *Mansabdars*, but this position did not give him any influence with the army. He was not commander-in-chief of the forces of the Empire; his

[61] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.II, p.411
[62] Ibid.,p.240
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., pp.491-520
[65] R.K.Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*,p.38

control over the army on the field of battle was further curtailed by the presence either of the King or of *Amirs* of high positions, on important expeditions[66].

***Mir Bakhshi* with King on Tours-** Though the charge of the management of tours and the establishment that accompanied the king was under the *Mir Saman*, who was the head of *Karkhanas*, the *Mir Bakhshi* had also to do a lot with it. As the head of the military department and the chief connecting link between the king and the *Mansabdars*, he accompanied the king on tours, pleasure trips and hunting expeditions.[67]He looked after the arrangement of the camp and allotted places to *Mansabdars* according to their rank[68].

As the head of the military department, the *Mir Bakhshi* kept the list of the guards. The *Mansabdars* at the capital were divided into eighty four divisions[69] for the purpose of mounting guard on the imperial palace. Seven of these were brought up every month to mount guard, so that each one was on duty once a week for a month[70]. The duty was compulsory and was enforced strictly. The list was prepared by the *Mir Bakhshi* and presented to the king. In the evening when the Emperor inspected the guards and the royal ensigns were brought out, the *Bakhshis* were in attendance.[71] As chief officer he connected with the guards of the palace, the Mir *Bakhshi* presented the name of guards for rewards. The King presented them with elephants, Horses and other articles as well. The *Bakhshis* read out daily the names of the guards and other soldiers, mentioning such first as have never received anything before. His Majesty gave them horses. When a soldier had received a horse, he was not recommended to His Majesty for the space of a year for any other donation.[72]

The royal guard's appointment procedure was the same as in the case of the appointment of a *Mansabdar*, except that the selected candidate had to present a fixed amount of offering (*Nazr*). His *Yaddasht* and descriptive roll, bearing the seals of the Superintendent of branding and *Mir Bakhis* were attached together. He got his bond of surety from the office of revision, and entered the department of Royal guards, after

[66] Ibn Hasan, *The Central structure of the Mughal Empire*, p. 231
[67] Bernier, *Travels of Moghul India*, p. 171
[68] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*, p. 485
[69] I.H.Quraishi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.56
[70] Yusuf Hussain, *Selected Documents of ShahJahan's reign*, p. 89
[71] William Hawkins, op.cit., p. 111
[72] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*, p.217

his horse been branded by the department concerned.[73] A *Jagirdar*, if he got an appointment as a royal guard, had to follow the same procedure.

From above it is confined that the *Mir Bakhshi* used to be the most trusted officer of the Empire and the Emperor had much confidence in him. Thus the duties of the *Mir Bakhshi* were of such a nature that he could hardly be kept way from the imperial presence. He was indispensable to the Mughal royalty.

**Provincial Administration of the Army**

*Mir Bakhshi* was usually the king's chief advisor in recommending honours increments and awards following a successful campaign. The Mughal soldiers usually brought their own horses, when horses got killed in expeditions. The recommendation of the local commanders for supplying horses at the cost of the state passed through his hands for imperial sanction. When armies were sent into the field a separate *Bakhshi* was attached to each decision and they were probably individual responsible to the chief or *Mir Bakhshi*.[74]

The provincial *Bakhshi* was the news writers for the province. His reports padded through the hands of the *Mir Bakhshi* at the capital. This made his work very important. The provincial *Bakhshis* report usually was a review of the work of all the *Mansabdars* in the province besides containing other material of interest to the Emperor. The Mir Bakhshi was thus in a position to pass judgment on the work of all public servants working outside the capital. It helped all the *Mansabdars* stationed in the province to vigilant to comply with the direction of the *Mir Bakhshi* and not to incur his displeasure.

The Mughal Empire was divided into provinces, called *Subahs*, each *Subah* consisted of several *Sarkars* further subdivided into *mahals* or *Parganas*. Under Shahjahan his *wazir* Sadullah Khan established a new unit called a *Chaklah*,[75] which included a number of *parganas*. The *sarkar* was not abolished, so that the *Chaklah* did not replace it.

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[73] Ibid.

[74] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, p.241, mentioned that when Mahabat Khan was sent against Jujhar Singh, Islam Khan was appointed *Bakhshi* to his army and other example Ishaq Beg Yazdi was appointed *Bakhshi* and *Waqianavis* to a contingent with Deccan campaign, vol.I, part.II, p.136

[75] *Dastur-ul-amal*, f. 34, Cf., I. H. Quraishi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.227

A province was under a governor who, in the beginning, was called a *Sipahsalar* or commander of armed forces.[76] As his title signifies his main duty was the defense of the area and the maintenance of peace and order.

The provincial administration functioned under a *SipahSalar*/ *Subahdar*, assisted by a *diwan*, a *faujdar*, a *sadar*, an *amil*, a *bakhshi*, a *potdar*, a *kotwal*, a *waqia-nawis*. *Sarkar* are under *Faujdars* and an *amalguzar* for revenue collection. Thus at both the *Subah* and *Sarkar* level military commanders were responsible for defense, law and order, criminal justice and general supervision. *Faujdar* were principal assistants to the *subehdar* and commanded provincial troops which they employed to perform their functions including assistance in revenue collection. It was their duty to regularly inspect the horses and accoutrement of troops under their command.[77]

Provincial army consisted of contingents required to be maintained by provincial officials as *Mansabdars*. Such contingents were a part of the regular army but by the virtue of their location they were made available to the *Faujdar*/*Subehdar*. Holders of *zat* ranks provided horses for *dagh* and other animals for administrative duties. Soldiers were provided by holders of *sawar mansab*. Another source of troops for provincial armies was contingents of minor *Rajas* and *zamindars*. For example the Rajas of *sirohi*, *Idar*, *Banswara* were attached to the *subah* of Gujarat.

The strength of the provincial forces and their composition also indicates that the large infantry component was enrolled locally while the very small cavalry component must have been provided by the holders of *Sawar* rank in the provincial administration. The maintenance cost of provincial troops was met out of provincial revenues; there were a type of local militia like the *Sehbandis* and not a part of the regular army.[78]

The administrative system of Shahjahan maintained its vigour and vitality in its outward appearance. The campaigns in Balkh, Qandahar, and the Deccan, the prevalence of peace in the Empire are a sufficient indication of the stability of the

[76] Ibid.
[77] Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p.569
[78] Ibid.

government. Manucci [79] gives many instances of Shahjahan's strict justice, and Tavenier's[80] account confirm this.

**Division of the Army**

**Cavalry**-

The Mughal army consisted of Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery. But the second and third branches held a very subordinate position vis-à-vis the first. The army was essentially an army of horsemen. The Mughals were accustomed to fight on horse back only. [81] The cavalry was great importance in the three branches of the government and for expeditions of conquest and means of avoiding much inconvenience. The cavalry consisted mainly of *Manasabdars,* their *Tabins* (followers), while the *Ahadis* were a special class of horsemen recruiting individually and moving round the Emperor's person, owing allegiance to none else, under a separate command.[82]

The Mughals attached great importance to cavalry in the battle field. Cavalry, was the most important wing of the army, the chief factor determining the fighting strength of Empire.[83] Both Changiz and Timur were great cavalry leaders, and the later destroyed a fully armed Elephant corps of Muhammad Tughlaq in the battle of Karnal in 1398.[84]

Babur himself was a past master in horsemanship, and could face even five horsemen with success.[85] During Babur's time *JizbaKhanas* were established which contained *Joshan*( mail for the soldiers) and *Kuhah* ( horse mail with accoutrement.)[86]

Babur's victories against Ibrahim Lodi and Rana Sanga owed much to his superb use of the *Tulughmah*tactics with his swift cavalry which wheeled round the Indian armies and took them in the rear. [87] Or in India, he won fame by his famous tactic of encircling the enemy forces with the help of his mobile cavalry and then destroying them. Humayun was a good horseman, but his son Akbar surpassed him. On one

[79] Nicolo Manucci, *Pepys of Mughal India, 1653-1708,* tr. William Irvine, London, Murray, 1913
[80] Tavernier, *Travels In India,* vol.II, ed., and tr., by V.Ball, Macmillon & Co., London, 1889, p.213
[81] H.K.Naqvi, *History of Mughal government and administration,* Delhi, 1990,p.126
[82] G.N.Panth, *Horse and Elephant Armour,* Agam Kala Prakashan, Delhi, 1997, p.27
[83] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal Army*,Delhi,2009, p.181
[84] Sharaf-ud-Din, *Zafarnama*, p.108, cited in Raj Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*,p.57
[85] Raj Kumar Phul , *Armies of the great Mughals*,p.57
[86] *Baburnama,* tr. A. S. Beveridge, New Delhi, p.195
[87] *Baburnama,* pp.473,569

occasion, he covered about 120 miles from Agra to Ajmer in one day; and then returned to the capital the next day.[88] He also paid great attention to the organization of cavalry. He ordered his soldiers to get new horses as soon as the old ones died; and after two years, a new horse was given in exchange for the old one.[89] Akbar maintained large and well equipped armies to guard the frontiers of his kingdom.[90]

Abul Fazal mentioned that Akbar was very fond of horses. And they were imported from Iraq. Turkey, Turkestan, Badakhshan, Shirwan, Qirghiz, and other countries.[91] The *Khasa*[92] special horses were kept in six stables, each containing forty choicest horses mostly from Arab.[93] Jahangir was very fond of giving and accepting presents and the items included in such gifts were jewels, arms and armours, elephants and horses. i.e, Jahangir presented to Raja Kalyan with an Iraqi Horse similarly, the other *Amirs* were given robes of honour and horses.[94] Jahangir gave 1000 war-horses to Khurram as present and specially conferred upon him, for his personal use, a very special war-horse named *Rumi-Ratan* (the jewels of Turkey) which the ruler of Persia had sent Jahangir as a present out of the spoils of the Turkish camp.[95]

Some of the Mughal generals under Akbar and Jahangir were famous for their skill in cavalry fighting. Abdur Rahim Khan-i-Khanan, one of the famous generals of Akbar, inflicted a crushing defeat on Muzaffar Shah of Gujarat leading an army of 40,000 horsemen in the battle of Morvi in 1593 A.D; While He himself had only 10,000 soldiers with him.[96] A Jahangir officer, Ibrahim Khan, died fighting bravely against the Afghans in the battle of Dhawalambapur in Bengal in 1612A.D.[97] Cavalry formed an overwhelming majority of the Mughal armies in the time of Shahjahan also. The royal expedition sent to Balkh and Badhakhsha in 1645A.D, under prince Murad had 50,000horse while the footmen numbered only 10,000.[98] Similar was the case in the expedition of 1649 and 1652 under Aurangzeb, sent to recapture Qandahar. Much the

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[88] Abul Fazl, *Ain*, vol. III, p.251
[89] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707),* p.58
[90] Ibid.
[91] Abul Fazl, *Ain*, vol. III, p. 140
[92] The head of the all *Khasa* horses were called *atbegi*. At the time of Mirza Khan-i-Khana Abdur Rahim, son of Bairam Khan , was the *atbegi.*
[93] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Alexander Rodgers and ed. Henry Beveridge, vol.I, Delhi, 1968, p.110
[94] Ibid., p.172
[95] Ibid., p.209
[96] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707,* p.58
[97] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol.II, p.393
[98] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, 163

greater part of the cavalry consisted of *Mansabdars* and their *Tabins*. The quality of the Mughal army, therefore depended upon the leaders chosen under the *Mansabdari* system and the soldiers recruited and prescribed by them. The government speaking generally, rested upon their loyalty and their efficiency.[99] The way in which the *Mansabdars* were selected and promoted, and the horsemen recruited and presented is well described by Irvin.[100]

As the cavalry was the backbone of the Mughal armies, it was but natural that the Emperors paid great attention to its effective organization. It was divided in to the following classes:

**Royal establishment**- it was the picked force which followed the Emperor wherever he went. Best types of horses were selected for this branch of cavalry, and stables were provided for them at state expense. The stables were governed by the following personnel.

**Grand Master of the horse**-(*Akhtabegi*) was the chief officer of the royal stables and was either a great noble or some senior *Ahadi*. He appointed subordinate officers to help him in the administration of the different stables.[101]

**Superintendent of the Stables**-(*Darogha*) was the chief working official of the department, and buying of best types of horses, control over the horse- markets, and such other duties were assigned to him. Generally a high *Mansabdar* was appointed to this job.[102]

**Clerk-** (*Mushrif*) was also called an accountant. He kept details of the strength of horses in royal stables.

**Store Keeper**-(*Amin*) was generally a non commissioned officer, and was in charge of the stores and other provisions for the establishment.

**Inspector of Stables**-(*Didahdar*) determined the ranks and conditions of the horses in stable.

**Reporter**-(*Naqib*) was also a clerk appointed for submitting regular reports to the superintendent of the department.[103]

In additional to the above, there were other special officers called *Mirdah* (commander of ten) over different units, each consisting of ten menial servants. They

[99] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari system and the Mughal army,* p.182
[100] William Irvin, op.cit., p.182
[101] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707,* p.59
[102] *Mirati-i-Ahmadi*.vol.II, op.cit., p.158
[103] Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India,* p. 595

often got the same salaries as *ahadis*; but it is not certain, whether they held an equal status. The menial establishment including the following:

**Horse Breaker-** (*Akhtachis*) was in charge of harnessing of the horses.

**Horse Doctor-** (*Baitar*) resembled the modern veterinary surgeon appointed to look after the fitness of animals.

**Jockey-** (*chabuk Sawar*) was the trainer of the horse.[104]

**Groom-** (*sais*) was the keeper of a horse and looked after its daily needs.

Besides there was a large number of miscellaneous establishments including black-smith (*nal-band*), saddle-makers (*zindar*), butlers (*farrash*), for making different equipment of animals.

The actual strength of royal establishments under the Mughals varied from time to time. Akbar had 12,000horses of different descriptions in his stables.[105] Jahangir maintained 4000 Iranians, 6000 Turki, and 2000 Kashmiri horses.[106] No reliable sources are available for the number of horses in the stables of Shahjahan.[107]

**Names of the Royal Horses**-the Mughal Emperors often gave names and tittles to the horses according to their best qualities: *Bad-raftar* (agile as the wind), *KhushRafter* (good mover), *ShahPasand* (liked by the King) and *Dil-ruba* (heartily loved) were the names of some of the horses.

On recruitment a descriptive roll of the recruit's features and that of his horse was prepared by a *chehra navis* who passed it on to a *mutasaddi* for sanction to the imperial court which accorded final approval. The *chehra* had the following details-

Name, father's name, tribe/caste, place of origin, complexion, features, identification marks, height and age.[108]A descriptive roll of the horse contained its breed, colour and identification marks on its body[109].

There are several instances of more than one member of a family serving under the same *Amir*. For example in 1648 three generations of sheikhs are shown serving

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[104] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707*,p.60
[105] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p.135
[106] Willian Hawkins,op.cit., p.424
[107] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707*, p.60
[108] *Dagh-o-Chehra*, Doc. No.171, Mughal Records, *Daftar-i-Diwani*, Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad.
[109] Ibid.

simultaneously under Qazlbash Khan Afshar. Under the same nobleman there is another case of three father and son pairs serving together. Under Hassan-ud-din Khan two father and son pairs are shown; one of the pairs was that of non-muslim Jadaun Rajputs. The family thus formed an important recruiting unit in armies under Mughal nobles.[110]

Regulations set forth in the *Dastur-ul-Amal* required, the interval after which verification was imperative varied according to the mode of payment to the soldier concerned. If he was being paid with *jagir* (land allotment) he had to muster his men once a year; a period of six months" grace was allowed. If the officer was paid in *naqad* (cash) verification was imperative every six months extendable to eight months. Should he be *t'anat* (away on duty) he was allowed 15 days, grace after he reported back to court. An *Ahadi*, on the other hand, was permitted a grace period of only seven days. Should the officer draw more than half his pay in *naqad* the rules for that category applied and vice versa. A perusal of the records indicates that these regulations were observed more in their breach than their observance. Lapses in some cases extend to years rather than months leave. Similar laxity prevailed in the cases of the *Mansabdran-i-khassa.*[111]

Regulations regarding the classes to be employed by nobles in their contingents are indicated by Kushak Chand in his *Nadir-uz-Zamani*. The rule was that a noble who came from *Mawara-unnehr* was required to recruit only Mughals. If he was from Iran he was permitted to recruit one third Mughals and the others could be *Syeds* and sheikhs. Should he recruit Afghans and Rajputs, the former could not exceed one sixth and the later one seventh, the balance were presumably local Muslims. *Syeds* and *Sheikhs* nobles were permitted to enlist their own communities but were also given the option to take in one sixth Afghans. Afghan nobles had the option of enlisting one half Afghans and the rest Mughals and *Sheikhzadas*. Rajput nobles, on the other hand, could enlist only Rajputs.

The cavalry continued to play an important role in all Mughal victories, but towards the end, it deteriorated in keeping with the general trends of decay. When the Mughal cavalry came into conflict with European armies, its real weakness were revealed.

[110] Guru Charan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India,* p.597
[111] Ibid.p.597

Apart from corruption and eternal jealousies which became such a feature of the later days of the Mughal Empire.

**Elephantr**y-

Besides Cavalry, an Elephant corps was also considered an important part of an Indian army. In 1399 A.D. Timur invaded India. Sultan Mahmood put up his forces in defense of Delhi. His army was composed of 40,000 foot, 10,000 horses and 125 elephants completely covered with armour, carrying Howdahs in which were throwers of grenades ( *radandaz*), fire works (*atish-baz*), rockets ( *taksha-andaz*) and arrows.[112]

The Mughals also felt attracted towards elephant Timur had an elephant corps in his army. Babur records that the standing army of Ibrahim Lodi, his main opponent in India in 1526 A.D., consisted of one lakh foot and one thousand Elephants. The Elephants formed the part of the Mughal force.[113]

The Indian Mughals, especially Akbar, employed elephants in a number of battles like katra Manipur in 1567(against Khan Zaman) and siege of Chittor in 1567-68.[114] Akbar employed elephants in many battles. These were completely protected with armour and apart from the generals and their standards theses beasts carried heavy guns on their backs. These guns were called *gajnals*.

In the 12$^{th}$regnal year of Jahangir, Shahjahan, then a prince, presented several items to his father together with many Elephants. One of them was '*Sarnak'* which was so beautiful that the Emperor himself drove it and took it to his private Palace.[115] During ShahaJahan's period the same method followed[116].

The Indian trained Elephants to fight. There were indeed extra ordinary numbers of elephants in the royal camps and cities.

They are taught to carry baggage as well as to fight, though the baggage is mainly carried by the females. Most of the males are trained for battle and furnished with defensive armour, which they also used for offensive purposes. Though indeed they are quite as dangerous without this armour.[117] For they catch up the enemy's soldiers

[112] Elliot and Dowson, *The History of India as told by Its Own Historians,* vol.III, p.493
[113] *Baburnama*, tr. A.H. Beveridge, New Delhi, 1970, p. 403
[114] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707 A.D),* p.65
[115] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, Tr. Alexander Rogers and H. Beveridge, vol.I, p.39
[116] Mughal Records, document no., 171, Yaddasht-i- Chehra, *Daftar-i-Diwani*, Andhra Pradesh State Achieves, Hyderabad.
[117] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*,vol.I, p.39

with their trunks, dash them down under their feet, and trample upon them. They do not cease from crushing their wretched victims till they are ground and smashed to pieces. Others, they toss up into mid air, so that they are killed by the fall; others split in twain by placing a foot on one of their victim's legs, seizing the other leg with their trunk and tearing it forcibly upwards.[118]

Thus during the Mughal period (1526-1707), Elephants continued to hold the position of war animals. It was only in the later Mughal period when Artillery became general and more scientific, that their importance as war engines ceased. Then they began to be employed mainly for transport work.[119]

**Division of Elephant corps-**

The Elephant corps of the Mughals consisted of the following two parts:

Royal Elephants- some of them called *khasah* were the hand picked animals kept in the royal stables. These elephants followed the Emperors wherever they went. For this reason, they were richly provided by the state, and were, either all or some of them, daily inspected by the sovereign.[120]

**Administration of the royal elephant stables**- The establishment of these elephants was under a superintendent of the elephant stables **(***darogha-i-filkhana*) he was selected from amongst the high ranking *Mansabdars* or *ahadis*, and performed a number of duties looked the keeping of supplies of the equipment of elephants. Getting details of strength of the animals from the faujdar and elephants drivers, their daily inspection, and presenting them before the sovereign whenever required. He also appointed honest and trust worthy clerks to keep accounts of ration stores for these animals.[121]

**Clerks**-(*Mushrif)* [122] kept the complete record of stores of the department and submitted it to the superintendent. Besides, the following servants were appointed to look after each elephant. *Mahawat*[123] sat on the neck of the animal and directed his

[118] Ibid.
[119] William Irvine, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*,p.179
[120] Hidayat ullah Bihari, *Hedayat-ul-Qawanin*, f.41a, Maulana Azad Manuscript, A.M.U., Aligarh, Abdus Salam Collection.
[121]*Hedayat-ul-Qawanin*, f.41a
[122] Ibid.
[123]Ibid.

movements. *Mahawat* got Rs.5 (200d) to 51/2 (220 d) per month. *Bhoi*[124] sat behind the *Mahawat* upon the rump of an elephant and assisted in the battle and in quickening the speed of the animal. He got Rs.2-3/4 (110 d) per month.

***Meths***[125] provided fodder for the animals and assisted in caparisoning them. If posted at a station, he got 3 ½ *dams* per day, but was paid four dams, when he accompanied the army on March.

**Names of Elephants**- As in case of horses, the royal elephants were also given names by the Emperors. i.e. Fath Khan, Shah Pasand, Hiranand etc.[126]All of them played an important part in different battles. Dara rode on an Elephant named Fath Jang when he started against Aurangzeb for the battle of Samugarh in 1658.

Elephants kept by the *Mansabdars*, the royal elephants were usually grouped into '*halqas'*. The strength of each *halqas* varied from 10 to 30, and was placed under a superintendent or a *faujdar*,[127] who looked after the training and upkeep of the animals under his charge. Sometimes, when a *faujdar* was raised to the dignity of a *sadi* or commander of 100, he had to keep 25 elephants also.[128] He had to pay for Mahawat and Bhoi of elephant which he had for personal use. In special cases, the *Sadis* were also elevated to the position of nobles at the court.[129]

Shahjahan handed over the charge of the *halqas* to his *Mansabdars* and *Amirs*, who were to keep the number according to their ranks. For example, officers of 50, 500, 1000, 5000 *zat* ranks were to keep 2,13,3 and 100elephants respectively. In the beginning, all the *Mansabdars* from the state, but later on this became a burden on their exchequer and the amount was deducted from their salaries.

**Artillery –** Besides Cavalry and war-elephants, Artillery formed an important part of the army. Properly speaking about the history of the Artillery in India begins with the coming of Akbar. Apart from establishing an extensive department of ordnance, he created whole administrative machinery covering the multifarious matters relating to it. With minor changes here and there, the system remained in force until the downfall of the Mughals.

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[124] Ibid.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.
[127] I.H.Quraishi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.67
[128] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals(1526-1707 A.D)*, p.68
[129] I.H.Quraishi, *The Administration of the Mughal Empire*, p.68

The Mughals learnt the use of artillery probably from China in the thirteen and fourteenth centuries.[130] The Turks were the first Asian people who borrowed artillery from the west. From them, it was successfully adopted by the Iranians and Mughals.

**Introduction of firearms into the country-**

The role of firearms is very important in the artillery, so before discussing the system of Artillery, firstly will describer about the firearms. Gunpowder, a highly combustible of sulphur, saltpeter, and charcoal in different proportions, was in all probability, discovered first in China.[131] Cannons and gunpowder have long been seen as among the most important inventions of the last 100 year-similar to the compass, printing and the silicon chip. Among other things, the crucial role of gunpowder was in the change from animal, mechanical or natural sources of energy.[132] It is their significant in warfare, energy, trade, intellectual exchange, culture and society that makes the study of gunpowder weapons of such crucial importance.[133]

The introduction of firearms in the country took place first in the Deccan. The Bahmani kingdom and Vijiyanagar Empire both procured early culverins from the west Asian traders around 1365 A.D and used them against each other in 1368A.D, during the first Bahmani war. Both imported either European or Turkish gunners who had experience of using such weapons in the armies of the west or of the Holy Roman Empire.[134] We know that these cannon were mounted on carriages because the *Bahmanis* claimed to have captured gun carriages after the battle. In north India firearms were first introduced by Babur and tactically employed during the first battle of Panipath in 1526A.D.[135] Babur always based his artillery tactics and strategy on the 'System of Rome', as will be clear from his organization of armies on the battle field of Panipath in 1525A.D and Kanwaha in 1527A.D. However the actual strength of his artillery is not known.[136]

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[130] Jos Gommans, *Mughal Warfare*, London, 2002, p. 152
[131] Iqtidar Alam Khan,"Coming of Gunpowder and the Response of Indian Polity," Centre of Advanced Study in History, Aligarh Muslim University, 1980, p. 2
[132] R. Balasubramaniam, *The Saga of Indian Cannons*, Aryan books international , New Delhi, 2008, p. xvii
[133] Ibid.
[134] Iqtidar Alam Khan, " Coming of Gunpowder and the Response of Indian Polity," p. 36
[135] Iqtidar Alam Khan, "Early use of Cannon and Muskets in India: A.D.1442-1525," Journal of the Economic and social History of the Orient, vol. XXIV.
[136] Jos Gommans, op.cit., p.153

Babur came to India with matchlocks whose barrel had to be rested on forks for firing and light cannon (falconets). These weapons were carried from Kabul on camel back. Babur felt the need of employing artillery after he had heard of the defeat of Shah of Persia by Sultan Salim at Childiran in 1510A.D. the Shah of Persia "imported Turkish artillery men and musket experts to train his own troops.[137]

Babur too was determined to keep his army abreast of all military development and hence he recruited Ustad Ali Quli, the great Turkish gunner whose role in the use of guns made Babur's military gains possible. Babur next recruited Mustafa Khan Rumi, a great expert in the use of *Tufang* and mortar, and in organizing the arrangement of light artillery in battle field[138]. His first mortar was cast by Ustad Ali Quli at Agra in October 1526 A.D. the fired a stone missiles to a range of around 1200 meters. It was deployed during the battle of Khanwa but only three shots cold be fired from it during three hours.[139]

It burst when fired again in November, 1527 A.D. another freshly cast cannon threw a ball to a distance of 1600 paces (1200 meters). The rate of fire of the early cannon was very slow. Babur commenting on his battle near Kannauj, remarks "Ustad Quli Khan made very good use of his artillery. The first day he discharged eight projectiles, the second day he shot sixteen and so continued for three or four days".[140]

Among the equipment of the Emperor were 700 carts (*gardun*), each drawn by four pairs of bullocks and carrying a *Zarb-Zan* (swivel gun) which fired a ball (*kalola*) of 500 *mishqals* (41/2ibs) weight.21 of the carriages were drawn by eight pairs of bullocks; these were guns which fired brass balls, each weighing 5000 *mishqals* in weight. Each ball cost 200 *mishqals* of silver. These guns could hit anything visible at a *parsang* (three miles).[141]

The artilleries of Babur and Humayun having been much less significant, it was possible to govern through the usual officers of the military. Almost all the affairs were looked after through the agency of a single officer known as *Mir Atish*. He was the commander and the recruiting officer, as well as the chief ordnance authority.

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[137] Arif Alvi, *Military Organization under Babur,* thesis in Maulana Azad Library, A.M.U, p.90
[138] *Military organization under Babur*,p.90
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid.
[141] Iqtidar Alam Khan, *Gunpowder and Firearms Warfare in Medieval India,* Oxford University Press, New York, 2004, p.129

With the expansion of the wing under Akbar, the two sections were separated.[142]*Mir Atish*, a Turkish term meaning the chief of the artillery in Central Asia, was retained. But the responsibilities of *Mir Atish* were confined mainly to the administration and commander of the artillery in the battle-field. The ordnance was place under the Lord Steward, *Khansaman*, one of the highest and the most trusted ministers directing the affairs of the royal *karkhana* and the imperial household. [143]

In turn, Shahjahan placed this department under his Lord High Steward (*Mir Khan Saman*), who appointed a *Mir-i-Atish* (*Darogha-i-Topkhana*) for day to day administration. This department was divided into two branches- A Jinsi**,** *Topkhana* **(**artillery), A *Dasti Topkhana* **(**Muskets and Handguns**).**[144]

The former comprised wheeled guns. Guns mounted on fort bastions for defense and swivel guns and the latter fire arms and matchlocks. Each branch had its administrative staff and separate arsenals[145].

Jahangir ordered his superintendent of artillery (RaiPatrDass) to recruit 50,000 artillerymen, and prepare 3,000 gun carriages.[146]

The strength of artillery in the last two expeditions sent to Qandahar in 1652(three expeditions were sent to recapture Qandahar in 1649,1652 and 1653, the first two under Aurangzeb and the third under DaraShikoh).[147]

"8big siege-guns, 20 smaller ordnance ( with a shot of 2-2 ½ seer each), 20 elephants guns, 100 camel guns, and 13,000 musketeers artillery rocket-throwers, etc.[148]

In the third expedition, 1653A.D, there were seven big siege guns,[149] seven *Top-i-Hawai*, thirty smaller ordnance, twenty five Elephants guns, hundred camel guns, and three thousands cannon balls, five thousand mounds of gun powder, two thousand five hundred *maunds* of lead and one thousand four hundred rockets. Besides theses, the artillery which had been used at Qandahar in the second campaigns at Kabul. The

[142]M. K. Zaman, *Mughal Artillery*, Idrah-i-Adabiyat-i-Delli, Delhi, 2009, p. 9
[143] Ibid.
[144] Major General Gurucharn Singh Sandhu, *A Military History of Medieval India*, op.cit., p.603
[145] Ibid.
[146] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol.I, op.cit., p.22
[147] Inayat Khan, *ShahJahan Nama*,p.463
[148] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.III, pp.61b-64a, *Amal-i-Salih*, vol.III, pp.130, 141
[149] The names of theses guns were *Kishwark usha, GharBhanjan, QilaKusha, Maryam* etc., mentioned by Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari system and the Mughal Army*,pp.157-58

total number of men in the artillery establishment during that expedition was about 12,500[150].

Shahjahan issued a *Farman* for the transfer of gun powder etc. from Bahadur, officer in charge, Artillery, imperial household, to Bundi Das, officer in charge royal Artillery at the time of the battle of Baklana.[151] In another *Farman* ShahaJahan ordered for sending 4 guns, from the custody of Bahadur Chaila, *Thavildar-i-Top Khana* (Officer in charge of the artillery) to Ram Nagar, bearing the endorsement submitted to the royal master.[152]The artillery of Babur and Humayun having been much less significant, it was possible to govern through the usual officers of the military.

**Administration of Artillery-**

For day to day administration, a noble was appointed, the superintendent of Artillery, known as *Mir Atish*. In the beginning this officer was under *Mir Khan Saman,* but Jahangir gave him independent charge.[153]

*Mir Atish* was the commander and recruiting officer, as well as the chief ordnance authority. The *Khansaman* maintained the foundry and supervised the manufacture of guns and munitions. As head of the *Karkhana* he signed pay rolls, kept stores, recommended appointments and promotions.[154]

In the management of the ordnance department, he was assisted by several officers designed like in other sections of the *Karkhanas*, as *Diwan-i-Bayutat*, concerned with the finance side of the department, *Mushrif-i-Kul-i-Juz*, head of the accounts. *Darogha*, supervisor of the artisans and their work, *Tahvildar*, the store keeper and *Mustaufi*, the auditor.[155]

The relations between *MirAtish* and *Khansaman* are not clear. The highest commander of artillery the *MirAtish* was followed by the commander of 1000 called

[150] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.III, f.73a; *Amal-i-Salih*, vol.III, pp.130, 141
[151] Mughal Records, Doc. No., 467, *Yad-dasht-i-topkhana*, Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad.
[152] Ibid., Doc. No. 278
[153] M.K.Zaman, *Mughal Artillery*, p.9
[154] Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of the Mughal Empire*,p.240
[155] Ibid.

*Hazari*, the chief of 1000 troopers though he may not necessary have at his command exactly 1000 soldiers.[156]

Artillery men generally called as Sair, were usually entitled as *Topchi*, *Golandaz*, *Barqandaz*, *as* the nature of his employment might be.[157].The number of soldiers employed on a gun varied according to its size, weight and functions.

**Heavy Artillery**- the general name for the branch was *Top-khana* (*Top* means cannon, *Khana* means house division). Every department connected with the artillery was included under the one name. It comprised manufacturing department, a magazine or ordnance department, in both of which the Imperial *Khansaman*, or Lord Steward had superior control over the *Daroghah* or *Mir Atish*.[158] The word top, the usual name for a cannon is stated in Persian dictionaries to be of Turkish origin, but apparently Babur used the word *Zarb-Zan* (*zarb*[159] -a hunter's lurking place; a sheep fold, *zan*[160]- the elbow; for arm).

Though it was used difficult to use such cannon in wars, yet the Mughals felt greatly proud of these pieces and considered them symbol of their power.[161]

The Mughals were fond of large artillery pieces which looked impressive but difficult to move, slow to bring in to action, reload, relay and fire.[162]

Then such pieces were given pompous names in the hope, if not the belief that they would live up to their given name .names like *Kishwar Kusha* (world Conqueror), *Fateh-i- Lashkar* (conqueror of armies), *Jahankusha* (world slayer) and *Ghar Bhanjan* (fort demolisher) could only give some satisfaction to its owner. Some large manageable cannon caused little qualitative and quantitative damage.[163]

***Fil kash***- (Elephant Drawn) was used in the battle field as well as in the battering the walls of fortress. They remained mounted on carriages.[164]

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[156] Ibid.
[157] M.K.Zaman, *Mughal Artillery*, p.11
[158] William Irvin, p.113
[159] F.Steingass, p.613
[160] Ibid.
[161] Raj Kumar Phul, p.96
[162] Gurcharan Singh, p.605
[163] Ibid.
[164] Syed Abu Zafar Nadvi, "The use of Cannon in Muslim India, ed., Mohd. Asad Weiss, *Islamic Culture*, the Hyderabad Quaterly review, vol.XII, January, 1938, p.415

***Burj Shikan***- (Breaker of Towers). It was too heavy to move from one place to another, so it was lodged on the bastions of forts, and brought into operation against a besieging army.[165]

***Gau Kash***- (ox-drawn), was of various size and weight.[166] Some were very heavy, that they were drawn by a thousand oxen.[167]

***Mardum kash*** (Men Drawn), was small and light, carried easily by one man. It was also called *Naunal*.

One of Shahjahan's cannon, called *JahanKusha* (world conqueror). It was found at Murshidabad and is of Shahjahan's period.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Length of the Gun | : | 17 feet |
| Length of the Bore | : | 15 feet |
| Diameter at Muzzel | : | 1 foot |
| Diameter at bore | : | 6 inches |
| The date of casting | : | Oct- Nov.1637[168] |

This piece was originally made at Dhakah in the eleventh year of Shahjahan's reign (1637 A.D). It took a charge of 28 seers of powder. It had been made by the method of wielding.[169]

**Pieces of heavy Guns-**

***Marammat-i-barut***- This *yad-dasht* regarding the sanction of a sum of rupees 1375 for the purpose of *Marammat-i-barut* etc. was submitted to the *Bakhshi-ul-Mulki*[170]. It was therefore, ordered that an amount of rupees 1,375 should be paid from the *Tahwil* of Bulaqi, the *gumashta* of Syedi Qamber Khazanchi.[171] 30th April, 1642 A.D, after the departure of the Emperor, the stores of the *Topkhana* of the *Khasa-i-sharifa* in the fort of Daulatabad, were inspected and the articles,( articles of brass comprised of things like *khanp* or MizanSikka of Elephant,Tabalbar) which were new and in

[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid.,p.416
[168] M.K.Zaman, *Mughal Artillery*, p.41
[169] Ibid.
[170] Mughal Records, Doc.4273, *Yad-dasht-i-TopKhana*, Andhra Pradesh State Achieves, Hyderabad
[171] Mughal Archives-A descriptive Catalogue of the documents pertaining to the reign of ShahJahan (1628-1658), ed. Mohd. Ziauddin Ahmad (shakeb), vol..I, State Archives, Government of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad,1977, p.303

addition to the old stock, were entered in to the stock and given in the custody of the *Tahwildar*, of said fort on 10th Safar,1052 A.H.(30TH April,1642 A.D).[172]

Following of the details of the new additions to the *Top Khana* of Daulatabad.

(a) Lead-10 *maunds*, 10 ½ seers
(b) Bullets of lead-15968 pieces.

1. *Sulpher*- 62 *maunds*, 36 ½ seers, 5 dams.
2. Articles of brass: 20 pieces weighing 3 1/8 seers, 3 *dams* brass.
3. Articles of copper: 43 pieces and one pair. Copper.
4. Article of steal: 40 pieces weighing 34mahnds 19 seers.( steel comprised of *dubalgha*, *siper*, etc.
5. Articles of Iron: 7515 pieces, 36 *ulchis,* 549 pairs. Iron: weighing 42 *maunds* and 35 seers.
6. Salt-petre: 917 *maunds*, 23 *tankas*.
7. *Ambar*- (a) cash: rupees 250, *annas* 8.

(b) Stock :(1) groceries: 1038 maunds.16 ¼ seers, 1 ½ dams.
(2) Millet: 1029 *maunds*, 24 *tankas* according to *chehal Dami* weight.[173]

It was submitted to the Prince that the late submission of bill of the *Tankhwah* of the *Ahsham* of *Topkhana* was mainly due to the greediness of the *sardars*. About three hundred persons were appointed for the preparation of the *Qabaz* but they were absconding and evading their work. The situation was becoming more complicated when referred to *hazari* and *sadiwal*. At the same time certain *jama'atdars* were receiving money under false pretext.[174]

In the circumstances stated above it was requested to take suitable action to rectify the state of affairs and it was further suggested that it should be made incumbent on every member of *Ahsham* to produce *dastak,* or their services should be terminated.

[172] Mughal Records, Doc.233, A.P.S.A., Hyderabad
[173] Ibid.
[174] Mughal Records, Doc.3874, A.P.S.A., *Mughal Archives-A descriptive Catalogue of the documents pertaining to the reign of Shahjahan (1628-1658)*,ed., Mohd.Ziauddin Ahmad(shakeb), vol.I, p.305

This is a *yad-dasht* dated 16th Muharram, 1064 A.H.(27th November,1653 A.D) recorded in the *risalah* of Multafit Khan and during and during the term of Binichand, *waqiahnawis* and Mir Shamsuddin Muhammad , *darogha* of *Topkhana*.[175]

*Deg*-Persian name and meaning- according to Irvine *Deg* means "Pot throwers" actually denoted a large cannon or a mortar.[176]

Babur's famous pieces of heavy cannon was called " *Deg-i-Ghazi"*[177] it was used in the battle of Kanwah in 1527 A.D[178] and Gogra in 1529 A.D.

*Zarb zand-*[179] Generally word used for heavy cannon. Some of the pieces used by Akbar in the siege of Ranthambore were so heavy that they were drawn by as many as 200 pairs of bullocks.[180]

*Top-i-Hawai-* (Air gun) was a kind of gun used for firing at places of high attitude or at long distances. The Mughal commander, Sidi Yaqut, fixed such pieces on trees, and fired them in the direction of Maratha, strong hold of Danda Rajpuri in 1668-1669.[181]

Wooden guns were prepared by hollowing out trunks of trees and were strengthened by heavy iron hands placed close together.[182]

*Ghabarah*- An ox good, or a bomb; a mortar for throwing shells; a fire balloons.[183]

Shahjahan recruited several gunners from the Deccan because he realized that the Deccan Sultans had a more efficient artillery arm. He was also conscious of the fact that Europeans had a better understanding of gun casting and the techniques of gunnery. He began to employ Europeans for his artillery but the personnel he managed to recruit were primarily deserters from European ships with little understanding of either the techniques of casting or the finer points of fire control in

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[175] Ibid.
[176] Raj Kumar Phul, p.98
[177] William Irvine, p.129
[178] Elliot and Dowson, *Babur and Humayun* ,op.cit., p. 69
[179] *zarb means a hunter's lurking place or sheep fold*. *Zand* means the elbow, fore arm, arm, cf. Steingass, p.613
[180] Raj Kumar Phul, op.cit., p.98
[181] Kafi Khan, *Muntakhab-ul-Lubab,* ed. Maulvi Kabiruddin and Haig, vol.II, Calcutta, 1860-74
[182] Raj Kumar Phul, p.98
[183] Steingass, p.880

current use in Europe. The trading companies also made a conscious effort to block such advanced knowledge and techniques from "native powers.[184]

**Light artillery-** The royal artillery always followed the emperor, and was called *Top khana-i-Rikab*[185] (Artillery of the stirrup) or *Top khana-i-Naqadi* (paid directly by the sovereign.)[186]

As the Emperors were generally on the march, either on hunting or military expeditions or to Kashmir in summer, this artillery consisted of such pieces as could be easily transported from place to place.[187] For this reason, it was also called *Top khana-i-Jalali* or *TopKhana-i-Jinsi* (which moves forward).

Bernier[188] termed it as "light Artillery". He found this always placed in front of the Emperor's quarters, and was fired at the time of his entering, the camp to apprize the people of his arrival therein.[189]

The strength of this artillery in the Mughal camp varied from time to time, though it was never very large Bernier found fifty or sixty such field pieces in the camp of Aurangzeb, when the latter marched to Kashmir in 1664.[190]

**Name of the light cannon**- For the lighter guns we come across many names, several of which are probably different words for practically the same thing.[191]

*Gajnal*was a small gun carried on an elephant, and fired from the back of the animal,[192] sometimes, two such guns were placed on the same animal. The word *Gajnal* was also used for a small field piece which was carried on the elephant, and was dismounted when being put to action.[193]

*Shutrnal*- was carried on a camel. Bernier described it as 'a small field piece of the size of double-musket'[194] it was worked by a man seated behind it on the camel.[195]

*Zamburak*- signified an offensive weapon like a musket, bastin and bombarde.[196]

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[184] Gurcharan Singh**,** p.604
[185]*Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, vol.I, p.22
[186] Ibid.
[187] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal army*, p.219
[188] F.Bernier, p.363
[189] Ibid.
[190] Ibid.
[191] William Irvine, p.134
[192] *Safarnama*, op.cit., p.114
[193] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 93
[194] F.Bernier, p.217
[195] William Irvine, p.135

*Gurnal*[197]- was fitted on the back of a horse, and was tied to the saddle. It could be raised or lowered when desired.

*Narnal*- was a matchlock which an individual could carry. It was, therefore, a male barrel.[198]

*Rahkala* –apparently meaning a cart was 'a field piece or a small gun. Such guns were drawn by bullocks.[199]

*Dhamakah*- was a kind of light field piece, was used along with rahkala.[200]

*Ram-Changi*[201] was also called *Ramjanki* or *Ramjangi*. Such guns were very common in eastern India, especially in Assam. Mir Jumla capture 1200 *Ramchangi* guns from the Assamese in 1661A.D.

*Jazail*-(Persian meaning) also called jazair or even the *janjal*[202] was a long musket (*banduq-i-kalan*), length of the *jazail* had eight to nine feet.[203]

**Artillery pieces**- *Ban* was a sort of rocket commonly used by the medieval Indian armies including those of the Mughals[204]. Bernier mentioned *Ban* 'as a sort of grenade attached to a stick, and which were thrown from the various parts of the line, among the enemies cavalry , and which produced the effect of terrifying the horses and sometimes of killing the men.[205]

The soldiers fixed flags of red or green colors to the bans to make them look beautiful.[206] The *bandars* who were mostly *Rohillas* formed an important part of the Mughal armies.

*Tir* – donated an arrow, a musket, a rocket, and sometimes even a shot or ball.[207]

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196 Ibid.
197 *Safarnama*, p.114
198 Raj Kumar Phul, p. 93
199 Ibid.
200 Ibid.
201 Ibid.
202 Ibid.
203 Ibid.
204 Ibid.
205 F.Bernier, p.48
206 William Irvine, p.149
207 *Mirat-i-ahmadi*, vol.II, p.198

*Huqqah-i-Atish* was a kind of rocket and was in frequent use in battles and sieges of the Mughal period.[208]

**Manufacture-** whereas we have no evidence of any restriction being imposed on private persons to manufacture guns and cannon, requirements of the army were met entirely by ordnance factories attached to the royal *Kharkhanas*. The royal arsenal (*khasa*) contained also a large number of quality guns presented or sold out by foreign emissaries travelers.[209]

Before the advent of the Mughals, cannon had been cast in Ahmadnagar where under the rule of the Bahmanid King, BurhanNizam Shah, the great *Malik-i-Maidan* was cast in 1548.[210] The first factory was established by Babur at Agra, the first great cannon was made in 1526A.D.[211]

During the Qandahar expeditions, Shahjahan established a factory at Lahore. Gujarat, especially Ahmadabad, may have been producing guns since the Mughal times. Patna being the largest salt petre producing town in the Mughal Empire, grew into chief centers for manufacturing gun powder.[212]

The Mughal Emperors took personal interest in the manufacture of guns and cannons. Akbar examined each piece personally and got them tested in his presence. AbulFazl has credited him with devising new methods of making guns, a credit which at any rate must go to his Engineers.[213]

**Infantry-(Foot Soldiers) or *Piyadagan***

As a part of the fighting strength of the Empire this arm of the service was insignificant. But it is not really correct to render the word '*Piadagan'* by Infantry. It is true that these *Piadagan* included the force called *Piada tufanfchi waban-dar,* which often accompanied the rest of the army to the battle field, and also some *Dakhili* troops.[214]AbulFazl used the term *Piadagan*[215]. William Irvin used the term

[208] Raj Kumar Phul, p.95
[209] M.K.Zaman, p.16
[210] Ibid.
[211]*Baburnama*, tr. Beveridege, op.cit., p.536
[212] M.K.Zaman, p.16
[213] Ibid. pp.17-18
[214] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal army*, p.204
[215]Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, pp.251-254

*Ahsham* for Infantry[216]. But it was not used in this technical sense in the earlier period.

The Mughals did not rally have a combat role for their infantry except as matchlockmen (*Tufangchis/ Banduqchis)* and archers (*Bandars)*. Even these were contrived roles consequent to the introduction of firearms. They cooperated with and afforded close protection to the guns.[217]

During Mughal's period the infantry performed all roles which cavalry was not willing to undertake. There were four classes, one to four, paid 500,400,300, and 240 dams respectively.[218]

The *Ahsham* is the heading under which the later native writers place all connected with the army, who were neither *Mansabdars, tabinan* nor *Ahadis***.**[219] In the *Ain*[220], there is a chapter headed *Piyadagan* which corresponds generally to the *Ahsham* of the later books.[221]

The meaning of the *Ahsham* word is defined in the dictionary as servants domestic, followers, attendants, retainers. A kind of militia or armed police.[222] In the official manual manuals (*Dastur-ul-Aml)* it comprehends the Infantry.The personnel of the artillery, the artificers and the attendants on the court.[223] Till the middle of the eighteen century, when the well trained and disciplined European armies demonstrated their supremacy over Indian armies, the Infantry remained a comparatively neglected wing of the Indian military organization. The early Hindus and the Medieval Muslim rulers had always looked upon elephants and cavalry as the symbol of their military strength.[224]

*Bunduqchis* (Matchlock-bearers) - A *Bitikchi*, a treasurer, and a *Darogha* formed the establishment. The senior *Bunduqchis*( *Sar-guroh*) got a higher pay from 260 dams to 300 dams per month. The salary of the rest ranged from 110 dams to 250 dams per month.[225] This is practically the only class which may be described as 'infantry'. The

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[216] William Irvin, *The Army of the Indian Moghuls*,p.160
[217]Gurcharn Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India,* p.607
[218] Ibid.
[219] William Irvine, *the Army of the Indian Moghuls, its organization and administration,* p.160
[220]*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, pp.251-254
[221] Op.cit.
[222] F. Steingass, p.160
[223] William Irvine, p.160
[224] Raj Kumar Phul, p.101
[225]*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p. 188

total number in Akbar's time was 12,000.[226] According to the Lahori's *Badshah Nama*, ShahJahn's army included at the end of the 20th regnal year, 40,000 *tufangchis*, gunners, and *Ban-dars*, 10,000 of which were at court, the remaining 30,000 being in the provinces and in fortresses.[227]

A number of this infantry, varying from 9,000 to 10,000 accompanied each of the three expeditions to Qandahar. The foot-soldiers receive the smallest pay; and to be sure, the musketeers cut a sorry figure at the best of times, which may be said to be when squatting on the ground, and resting their muskets on a kind of wooden fork which hangs to them. Some have twenty rupees per month, some fifteen, some ten.[228]

*Darbans*-(Porters)- The primary sources during ShahJahn's reign did not mention the numbers of *Darbans*. During the Akbar's reign, there were 1,000 *darbans* (door keepers) to guard the palace.[229]

*Khidmatiya*- 1,000 *khidmatiya* remained alert round the *Daulat-Khana* and awaited orders. The caste to which they belonged was notorious for highway robbery and theft. They were formerly as *Mawis*. Jahangir mentioned these as *Piadaha-i-Khidmatiya*.[230]

*Mewras*- They came from Mewat. They were fast runners, could fetch and carry across long distances, and were expert at detective work.[231]

*Shamsher-baz*- bravery and agility were their distinguishing characteristics. They could perform remarkable feats of arms. Different classes of these specialized in certain feats and tricks, and in particular ways of offence and defense.[232]

*Shamsher-baz* denotes more a profession than a service; for we are told that the total number exceeded 100,000 of which a picked 1,000 was always ready for service at court.

*Sadi*-(commander of 100) of theses held the rank of an *ahadi* or a still higher one. The monthly salary of a *Shamsher-baz* ranged from 80-600 dams.[233]

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[226] Ibid.
[227] Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol. II, p.715
[228] F.Bernier, p.217
[229] Gurcharan Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p.607
[230] *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, tr. Rogers and Beveridge, vol.II, p.152
[231] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal army*, p.206
[232] Ibid.
[233] William Irvine, p.186

Other gladiators at court formed a part of the infantry. These included wrestlers from Persia and Turan, *Mals*[234] from Gujarat and other fighters. Their pay ranged between70 to 450 dams and their function was to give wrestling displays at court.

*Chelas* (slaves) - also found employment in the infantry. Their pat ranged from one rupee to one dam per day. Manucci mentioned that "It is the habit of these kings to have usually in their service seven thousand slaves of different nations, and some among them are established as chief to govern and guide the rest. They have various duties, both within the house-hold and in other duties connected to the infantry.[235]

Lastly a corps of *palki* bearers were inducted into the Mughal army as a part of the *Paidgan*. The best *Kahars* came from Bengal ad the Deccan and several thousand of them were employed at court. Their pay ranged from 120 to 160 dams (3 to 4 rupees) the head of the *Kahars* received 192-384 dams.[236]

*Dakhili*-foot-soldiers- a number of these, though paid by the state were handed over to the *umara*. Though rally infantry. They were classed as *nima-suwaran* ( half-cavalry). They were apparently taught too ride a horse and were provided with mounts during campaigns. One quarter of the *Dakhili* troops were trained to use matchlocks and were equipped with the weapon.[237]

The corps also included artisans like metal workers, carpenters, pioneers, and water-carriers. The pay of *Dakhili* troops varied with the weapon carried.

Mughal Infantry was employed on duties like the guarding of baggage, camps and as night watchmen, *Paidgan* (foot-soldiers) included all above which I have mentioned. One third carrying matchlock muskets and the other bows and arrows; all of them were probably equipped with daggers as a personal weapons.

**Navy**- Navy was perhaps the most neglected part of Mughal Military system. Considering the geographical environments, peculiarities in climate and physical features of India, one can, justly find that it was not the fault of the Mughal Emperors alone. Especially in Northern India, it is an inland; therefore, its best defense lay in

[234]*Mal* is a professional wrestlers or boxer( the offspring of an outcast *Kshatriya* by a *kshatriya* woman)
[235]Manucci, *Storio the Mogor*,vol.II, op.cit., pp.357-358
[236] Abdul Aziz, *The Mansabdari System and the Mughal army*, p.211
[237]Gurcharn Singh, *A Military History of Medieval India*, p.608

the maintenance of an invincible land force by its ruler.[238] Before Akbar, Babur and Humayun could not pay attention to navy. Akbar adopted expansion of the Empire policy, so he expanded over Bengal and touched the borders of Assam in 1576 A.D.[239] For these states, he created a separate department for Navy under an officer called *Mir Bahr* or Lord High Admiral, but he did not pay so much attention as it required.[240]

Shahjahan committed the same mistake and made no efforts to strengthen their naval power. The Mir Bahr was helped by the some officers i.e., *Mushrif* (clerk), *Darogha*, captain called *Nakhuda*, was chief officer of the ship, *Muallin* was appointed by the captain, also called second captain, *Tandil* (artillerymen), *Nakhuda-i-Khashak* was in charge of the fuel, *Top-andaz* and many other officers to help the *Mir Bahr*. So we do not have such information about the Naval of the Shahjahan, in his period we did not find any other changes which was different to his ancestors. He followed same naval policy of Mughal Empire.

**Salaries of the officers and soldiers**

After an account of the organization and equipment of the army, the next point is to find how they were paid. It was an important problem, as the morale of the soldiers greatly depended upon the sufficient and regularity in its payment to them.

What were the system of the salary of the military officers and soldiers during Mughal's Period, described by many modern Historians, i.e., W. H. Moreland[241], Irfan Habib.[242] Moreland's analysis was particularly well grounded in respect of various aspects of the *mansab* system as it functioned during the reign of Shahjahan.

Irfan Habib also gives the information "For the change after 1638 A.D, we have first to consider the new Schedules that came into force possibly late that year, and certainly by 1641 A.D.[243]

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[238] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughals*,p.113
[239] Ibid., p.114
[240] *Ain-i-Akbari*,vol.I, p.289
[241] W.H.Moreland,"Rank ( Mansab) in the Moghul state Service", journal of the Royal Asiatic society,1936, pp, 641-65
[242] IrfanHabib, " The Mansab System," Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 29th session, Patiala, 1967,Patna, 1968,pp. 228-49
[243] IrfanHabib,"Mansab Salary Scale under Jahangir and ShahJahan", vol, CIX, Islamic Culture, An English Quaterly, Hyderabad, July, 1985, p.222

Abdul Hamid Lahori, wrote a history of the first twenty years of Shahjahan's reign, gives a full list of awards of *mansabs* in each of the two decades. Lahori gives *Mansabdars* list show every sign of being carefully prepared.[244] Mohammad SalihKanbu, compiled all these lists give both *Zat* and *Sawar* ranks.[245]

For this purpose the army was divided into two parts. The first includes nobles and generals, who got their salaries from the revenue of the Jagirs lands assigned to them. The second consisted of common soldiers who were paid in cash. Different names we assigned to these two classes- the former being known as *Jagirdars,* and the latter as *naqdis,* both are governed by different rules.[246]

The rates of pay for officers and men of the cavalry, forming numerically for the most important part of the army, have been already stated when dealing with the *mansab* system. The rates for infantry and artillery so for as recorded, will be stated where we come to those branches of the service.[247]

The *jagirdari* System was therefore abolished by SherShah, who started *Naqdi* system for paying salaries to his officers and soldiers.[248] There were two types of *Jagirs*. The first called tiyul was temporary and was conferred on a person by virtue of the office held by him. The other was permanent and was bestowed upon a perso in perpetuity by a special latter called *altamagha*.[249] The procedure in this case was that an estimate of the salary according to *zat* and *sawar* ranks was prepared by the superintendent of the office of salaries (*Diwan-i-Tan*). After final orders by the Emperor, the person concerned brought this paper before the revenue officials of the *parganah*. They would make payments to him from the revenues of the lands of his *jagir*. In all such cases, the calculation of the salaries was made on crop basis. In case a cash salary was converted into one of *Jagir* and vice versa.[250]

The second method of payment of salaries to the soldiers and the officers was *naqadi*, which was not the invention of the Mughals. Salaries of the Horsemen- the salaries paid to the common soldiers were fixed on two basis:

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[244] Ibid.
[245] Ibid.
[246] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*, p.164
[247] William Irvine, p.12
[248] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*, p.164
[249] M.Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Mughal Empire, Awards of Ranks, offices and titles to the Mughal nobility(1574-1658),* CAS in History, A.M.U., Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985.p.XV
[250] Ibid.

As efficiency of horsemen on the day of battle mostly depended upon the strength of his horse and fixed their salary according to the quality and breed of the animal he brought for muster.

Ordinarily, the Turki Horses were brought for muster and Rs.20 p.m. was the normal salary of a soldier. The same rule remained under the successors of the Akbar[251]. Shahjahan tried to decrease it from 9,600 *Dams* p.a. to 8000 dams p.a. he exempted the Mughal soldiers in the Deccan where they were at war with the Muslim states of Bijapur and Golkunda. Sarkar explained that "when Shahjahan sent orders for enforcing the new grades ( decrease of the salary Rs. 20 to Rs. 16 or 17 p.m.), Aurangzeb , The Mughal viceroy of Deccan, strongly protested against this injustice to the soldiers; and stressed the importance of keeping the soldiers of that region happy, contented and well paid. At this Shahjahan gave up the idea and the soldiers in Deccan continued to be paid the salaries at the rate of Rs. 20 p.m. each[252].

### *Mansabdari* System under Shahjahan

The administrative machinery and revenue system developed by Akbar was maintained under Jahangir and Shahjahan. Under Shahjahan important changes were, however, effected in the functioning of the *mansabdari* system.

Two categories of *mansabs*, *zat* and *sawar*, instituted by Akbar, represented such a compromise brought about in the 'third stage'. Under its terms the older ranks being now nominal were recognized as such and became more indications of personal status and personal pay; while the new, *sawar* rank stood for the actual number of troopers maintained , but under Jahangir, this system too underwent the fate as the old, and now the *sawar* ranks tended to become nominal as well.[253]

A further modifications, which comes to our notice during Shahjahan's reign, was aimed at drastically reducing the number of *sawars*, a noble was required to maintain. Thus a noble was expected to maintain a quota of only one third of his *sawar* rank, and in some circumstances, one fourth. Thus a noble who had the rank of 3000 *zat*, 3000 *sawar*, would maintain not more than 1000 troopers. But this would be doubled.

[251] Raj Kumar Phul, p.178
[252] Sarkar, Aurangzeb, vol.I, pp.174-175.
[253] Irfan Habib, "The Mansab System (1595-1637)", p.229

i.e., he would maintain 2000 troopers, if his rank was 3000 *sawar, du-aspa, sih aspa*.[254]

Shahjahan, aiming at a stricter administration to restore Akbar's system, but was compelled to tread further on the path of compromise. He kept the ranks as they were, but scaled down the total pay due on the ranks, reducing sharply the pay against the *zat* ranks, while reducing also, though in lesser proportion, the pay against the *sawar* ranks. Because he had reduced the pay due on ranks and because of political considerations inhibiting to strict of excessive an insistence on the fulfillment of obligations exactly according to the numbers of ranks, he scaled down the obligations demanding that, under different circumstances, the commanders were to maintain one third, one –fourth or one fifth of the numbers of their *sawar* ranks.[255]

The amount of actual evidence that he is able to bring forward is small, even as to elementary facts of the *mansab* system prior to Shahjahan; and it is by no means easy to follow him, when he declares that certain institutions found under Shahjahan, did not exist earlier, and were innovations introduced by him. The first an attempt is made to establish directly from evidence the facts of change in the system of *mansab* pay and obligation during the last year of Akbar and the reign of Jahangir so as to discover what exactly was new in the system as it was found existing under Shahjahan[256].

In a document of 1634, there is a marginal note on the contingent which Syyid Abd al-Wahhab holding the rank of 400 *zat* and 300 *sawar* took to the brand (*dagh*). There were 79 horsemen/horses with the following break-down.[257]

| | |
|---|---|
| *Khasah* | 4 |
| *Tabinan* | 75 |
| | 79 |

Theses horses were classified as:

| | |
|---|---|
| Turki | 23 |
| Yabu | 13 |
| Tazi | 43 |
| | 79 |

[254] Satish Chandra, *A History of Medieval India*, Orient Blackswan, Delhi, 2007, p.292

[255] Irfan Habib, " Mansab Salary Scales under Jahangir and Shahjahan," Islamic culture, Hyderabad, July 1985, p.203

[256] M.Athar Ali, *The Apparatus of Empire, Awards of Ranks, Offices, and Titles to the Mughal Nobility(1574-1558),* oxford University Press, Delhi, 1985, p. XV

[257] *Dag-o-Chera*, Doc. No.171, Mughal Records, Daftar-i-Diwani, Andhra Pradesh Archives, Hyderabad

Now, quite obviously the 75 horses of *Tabinan* were maintained under the rule of one-fourth applicable to the *sawar* rank (75X4=300)[258]. Against the *zat* or *Khasah*, only four horses were maintained.

We may then say that the deductions from *mansab* pay in force before the new schedule of 1641 were either already present under Akbar there were in lieu of exemption granted from certain obligations now no longer imposed on the *mansab* holders. It can not, therefore, be easily said that in money-terms the *mansabdars* received less in 1638 than they did in 1595.

This table shows the changes in the *mansab* under Shahjahan[259].

| *Zat* -rank | | *Ain* Schedule | 1605 Schedule | 1615-38 Pay-Statements | 1641 Schedule | 1643-45 Pay Statements |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2,000 | II | 39,2700 | - | - | 37,00,000 | 37,00,000 |
| 1,500 | I | 33,00,000 | 33,00,000 | - | 30,00,000 | 30,00,000 |
| 1000 | II | 24,22,000 | - | 24,72,030 | 19,00,000 | 19,00,000 |
| 500 | II | 7,59,000 | - | 8,05,200 | 7,50,000 | 7,50,000 |
| 500 | III | 6,93,000 | - | - | 7,00,000 | 7,00,000 |
| 300 | II | 4,12,500 | - | 3,79,500<br>3,63,000 | 3,80,000 | 3,80,000 |
| 200 | III | 2,97,000 | - | 2,80,500 | 2,60,000 | 2,60,000 |
| 150 | III | 2,64,000 | - | 2,43,100 | 2,10,000 | 2,10,000 |
| 100 | II | 1,98,000 | - | 1,98,000 | 1,80,000 | 1,80,000 |
| 100 | III | 1,65,000 | - | 1,78,200 | 1,60,000 | 1,60,000 |
| 80 | III | 1,15,500 | - | 1,15,500 | 1,20,000 | 1,20,000 |
| | | | | 1,22,100 | | |

Lays out an elaborate formula, giving for 10 *sawars* the composition 3 *sih-aspas*(24,000 *dams* each, 4 *do-aspahs* (16,000 *dams* each) and 3 *yak-aspahs(*8,000 *dams* each), giving 160,000 for 10 *sawars*, and so by inference 16,000 *dams* per unit of *sawar* rank converted into *do-aspah sih-aspah*.[260]

The rate of 8,000 *dams* for each unit of *sawar* rank is applied rigorously in all pay-statements after 1641. We have also seen from a pay-statement of 1638-39 that the rate must have come into effect before the end of 1638. As for the *do-aspah*, *sih-aspah* rank the rate of 16,000 *dams* is applied in a pay statement of 1645, but in

[258] Lahori, vol.II, p.506
[259] Irfan Habib, "Mansab Salary Scales under Jahangir and ShahJahan", p.226
[260] Ibid.

special conventional form. The *sawar* rank in this case was "1,000 *sawar*, of which 200 *sawar do-aspah*." The rate of 8,000 *dams* is then applied to the entire 1,000 treated as *barawurdi*; and then the rate of 8,000 is again applied to 200 *do-aspah sih aspah*.[261]

Main conclusions are the *zat* pay scales of 1595 and 1605 continued in first decade of Shahjahan, 1638. The *zat* and *sawar* pay before 1638 was made out for only 11 months, the twelfth month being counted as *irmas*. Under Akbar some mounts were given to *mansab* holders in lieu of *irmas*; but there is yet no evidence that this was done under Shahjahan. Under the new schedules of Shahjahan, there was a net reduction of less than 10% on *zat* pay and of 9% on the *sawar* pay.[262]

**Hindu nobility under Shahjahan**

Shahjahan employed Hindus in large numbers and gave them high ranks in their forces. The Rajputs and the Marathas together formed the overwhelming majority of the Hindu nobility under Shahjahan. He employed Hindus in large numbers and gave them high ranks in their forces. Akbar had 37 Hindu and 214 Muslim nobles enjoying rank between 500 and 6,000 *zat* and Shahjahan, 155 and 467, respectively.[263]

In the thirty one year of Shahjahan's reign, there were 52 Hindus in a total of 241, serving as *mansabdars* commanding 1000 to 7000 men. At the end of the 1638 A.D ($10^{th}$ regnal year), there were 189 *mansabdars* of 1000 and above. Of this number 35 were Hindus.[264]

At the end of the 1648 A.D, out of a total of 231 living *mansabdars* of 1000 and above, 51 were Hindus.[265] The total increase in these ten years was 42 of which the number of the Hindus at the end of the 1638 was only 18.5 of the total strength, they secured 38% of the new creations. Even them the percentage of the Hindus stood at 21.5 instead of 18.5 as at the end of the 1638. If we include the number of the *mansabdars* of 500 and above, the position revealed is almost the same.[266]

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[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.
[263] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*, p.319
[264] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part-II, pp.258-328
[265] Ibid.
[266] S.R. Sharma, *The religious Policy of the Mughal Emperors*, New Delhi, 1940, p.82

At the end of the 1638, the number of Hindu *mansabdars* of 500 and above was 76 out of a total of 419.[267] The Hindus thus secured 21 out of 34 new creations.

In the table below, the figures of Hindu nobles have been set side by side with the number of *mansabdars,* serving in 1595, based on the *Ain,* and list of Hindu *mansabdars* of Shahjahan's reign.[268]

| | Akbar (1595) | | Shahjahan (1628-58) | | Akbar (1595) | Shahjahan (1628-58) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5,000 and above | 7 | 1 | 49 | 12 | 14.3 | 24.5 |
| 3,000 to 4,500 | 10 | 1 | 88 | 22 | 10.0 | 25.0 |
| 1,000 to 2,700 | 17 | 6 | 300 | 64 | 35.3 | 21.3 |
| 500 to 900 | 64 | 14 | | | 21.8 | |
| Total | 98 | 22 | 437 | 98 | 22.5 | 22.4 |

Shahjahan appointed many Hindu officers on the post of high and low rank ranks. i.e. Commanders of 5000- Raja Jaswant Singh, Raja Jagat Singh, Raja Jai Singh, Raja Bithal Das, and Raja Gaj Singh etc. he also appointed many commanders blow 5000 rank. i.e. Raja Pahar Singh, Raja Rai Singh, Madhao Singh Huda etc.[269] probably the most interesting appointment of the reign was that of Shahuji whom Shahjahan tempted into imperial service by conferring on him the highest command of 6,000.[270] Shahjahan appointed Raja Gaj Singh as a commander of the army to crush the rebellion of the Khan-i-Jahan Lodi.[271] We further find that on the outbreak of the wa of succession, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was the premier noble of the Empire, holding the rank of a command of 6,000. Thus under Shahjahan Hindu counted among them the mightiest subject and the highest public servant, the imperial Finance minister and several provincial minister of Finance, besides several military commanders of great fame.

The Hindu nobility attained a considerable measure of stability under the Mughal emperor Shahjahan and he paid personal and careful attention to the organization of the nobility (the *Mansabdari* system), orderly promotions, discipline, and the recruitment of competent people into the imperial service.

[267] Lahori, *Badshah Nama*, vol.I, part- II, pp.717-52
[268] M Athar Ali, *The Mughal Nobility under Aurangzeb*, p. 31.
[269] Lahori, *Bashahnama*, vol.II, p.407
[270] *Amal-i-Salih*, vol.I, p.393
[271] Lahori, op.cit., vol.I, I, p.295

## Chapter - 6

# ARMS AND ARMOURS

Arms form the basis for a certain aspects of written history, a pre-requisite for warfare, conquest and consequently responsible for changing the face of the world. Weapons were the best friends of the brave, the symbol of authority and the token of the command, the visible sign of the force, strength and domination.[1]. Mughal weapons significantly evolved during the ruling periods of the Mughal Emperors. During its conquests throughout the centuries, the military of the Mughal Empire used a variety of weapons including swords, bows and arrows, horses, camels, elephants, some of the world's largest cannons, muskets and flintlock etc. We know great deal about Mughal Architecture, Mughal Art and Mughal cuisines but there is also one thing fascinating about them and that is their Weapons of war. We cannot find any changes in the weapons during Shahjahan's period. He followed same weapons of his predecessors. There were two types of weapons, offensive arms and defensive armours.

(1) **Offensive arms**- there are two types of offensive arms:-

**(a) Short range arms-**

Short range weapons like swords, maces, daggers, javelins and spears etc. formed offence equipment of the Mughal soldiers and officers.

Most cavalrymen relied on the *kotah-yaraq*[2], or short arms to be used at close quarters and grouped into five classes - swords and shields, maces, battle-axes, spears, and daggers. Weapons for more distant attack were the bows (*kaman*) and arrows (*tir*), the matchlock (*banduq* or *tufanq*), and the pistol. Rockets were also used by the artillery (*topkhanah*). No single man carried all these weapons at one time, but in a large army all of them were to be found in use by someone or other.[3]

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[1] G.N.Panth, *Studies in Indian Weapons and Warfare*, Army Educational Stores, New Delhi, 1970, p.1

[2] F.Steingass, *A Comprehensive-Persian English Dictionary*, Munshi ManoharLal Publisher, New Delhi, 2008, p.1058

[3] William Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls*, New Delhi,1964, p.73

**Swords** - swords were the most important short range weapon and had been used by all the nations since times immemorial. It was called a '*saif*' in Arabic, '*shamshir*'[4] in Persian, and *Talwar* in Hindi.[5]

Sword in those times was an integral part of infantry and cavalry, Mughals showed a great liking for it. They mainly used the curved blade types, the *Samshirs*, the *Talwars* etc. the blade of a *shamshir* is very fine, narrow and thick, invariable of watered steel. These are engraved with the name of the maker or owner and the date. Verses from the holy Quran sometimes found[6]. The curved blades came to India mainly after the Islamic invasion and others quickly adopted it. The guard is very plain; commonly no more but a handle of iron, with a crossbar of the same underneath the pummel which also is of iron. In the sixteen century, the Persian blades were much sought after and were probably imported in large numbers. During seventeenth century, the Mughals successfully established Persian techniques in India and diffused them among the native sword smiths that is how in the $17^{th}$-$18^{th}$ centuries. A number of *shamshirs* were produced by the Indian *sikligars* (sword smiths) and at the same time direct Persian influence on the character of the Indian *shamshir* waved. Thus the chief basis for assessment of the age of a $16^{th}$ or early $17^{th}$century blade is its degree of proximity to strictly Persian type.[7]

Here is a *Samshir* of Persian variation, the curved handle allows the hand to firmly remain on the sword.[8]

[4] F.Steingass, op.cit., p.760

[5] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughals,* Oriental Publishers and distributors, New Delhi, 1978, p. 147

[6]G.N.Panth, *Indian Arms and Armours,( Swords and Daggers),*vol.II, Army Educational Stores, New Delhi,1980, p.72

[7] Ibid., pp. 72-73

[8]Egerton of Tatton, *A Description of Indian and oriental Armour,* waterloo place,1896, p.23

Fig.1. Zulfiqar: sword of Shahjahan.
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

Fig.2. Curved Sword
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

Fig.3 & 4, Showing different types of Swords during Mughal Period,
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum, New Delhi.

Fig.5, Showing straight Dagger with Ivory hilt.
Courtesy : Red Fort Museum.

Fig.6, Sword with decorated handle.
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

Sword-belts were in general broad and handsomely embroidered. On horseback they were worn on a belt hanging over the shoulder. Otherwise a man carried his sword by three straps hanging from a waist-belt. One kind of short sword was called the *nimchah-shamshir*.

The names of the various parts of the sword were, *teghah* (blade), *nabah* (furrows on blade), *qabzah* (hilt), *jaenarela, sarnal* or *muhnal,*and *tahnal* (metal mountings of scabbard), *kamrsal* (the belt?) *bandtar*. The quality or temper of a blade was its *ab*(water) or *jauhar* (luster). The belt was termed a *hamalat*.[9]

Inspite of the wide use of artillery, sword continued to be an important weapon of offence and a mark of distinction throughout the Mughal regime. A manuscript of *Baburnama,* in the National Museum, New Delhi, depicts several types of swords such as straight, curved, *tegha*, *khanda*, etc. swords was sometimes used for hunting purposes.[10] NurJahan presented a sword with jeweled shoulder belt (*pardal*) to Shahjahan in recognition of his distinguished services in the field of battle.[11] Once SahaJahan presented a short but broad sword (*shamshir-i-nimchaya*) to Jahangir.[12]

**Daggers and knives**- It is really very difficult to define a 'dagger' in absolute terms. Generally 'dagger' and 'knife' is not distinguished all types of daggers into the category of knives. However, by definition a dagger is essentially a weapon with a tapering double edged blade, whilst a knife has, again by definition, only one sharpened edge, but in fact it is often not easy to be precise when describing certain specimens.[13]

These were of various shapes and kinds, each with a separate name.

| Name | Description | Type | Usage | Material |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Katara or Katari* | A lightweight thrusting knife similar to a Poignard and peculiar to India. Made with a hilt whose two branches extended along the arm so as to protect the hand and part of the arm, this weapon had a thick blade with two cutting edges having a | Push Dagger | Deccan and Hindustan | |

[9] William Irvine, *The army of the Indian Moghuls,p.73*
[10] G.N.Panth, *Studies in Indian Weapons and Warfare,* p.88
[11] William Irvine, p.75
[12] Ibid., p.87
[13] Ibid., p.135

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | breadth of 3 inches (76 mm) at the hilt and a solid point 1 inch (25 mm) wide.[14] The blade could not be bent and was so stiff that nothing but a cuirass could stop it. A *katara's* total length extended to 22 inches (560 mm), one half of this being the blade. The hilt had a cross-bar at right angles to the blade, by which the weapon was grasped such that it could only be used for a forward thrust. Some were slightly curved whilst others resembled a fork or were two-bladed. Blades were of various patterns with a length that varied from 9 to 17.5 inches (230 to 440 mm).[15] | | | |
| *Jamadhar* | This had the same handle as a *katara* but with a broad and straight blade, while the *katara* blade could be either straight or curved. The *jamadhar katari* had a straight blade and a handle held in the same way as a table-knife or sword. | Straight [16]blade | | |
| *Khanjar* | A poignard type dagger with a hilt like a sword of which most had doubly curved blades and were about 12 inches (300 mm) long. The weapon originated among the Turks, who carried it upright and on the right side, but it was occasionally worn by both Persians and Indians, the latter wearing it inclined on the left side. They were four types: *jamhak*, *jhambwah*, *bank*, and *narsingh moth*. All four of these weapons appear to be of the same class as the *khanjar*, although they varied slightly in form. | Dagger | Mainly used by Turks, occasionally by both Persians and Indians.[17] | |
| *Khapwah*. | Literally "scorpion", this type of knife had a wavy blade while the *khapwah* was also a type of | Dagger | Marathas | |

[14]Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, op.cit., p.112

[15]Egerton of Tatton, op.cit., p.109

[16] Ibid.

[17] William Irvin, p.86

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | dagger. It was almost identical with the *jambwah*.[18] | | | |
| *peshkaj* | A pointed Persian dagger generally with a thick straight back to the blade and a straight handle without a guard, though at times the blade was curved, or even double-curved. Some of the hilts had guards.[19] | Dagger | | |
| *Karud* | Introduced by Afghans, this resembled a butcher's knife and was kept in a sheath. Karuds had a total length of 2.6 feet (0.79 m) with a blade 2 feet (0.61 m). The *gupti-karud* was inserted into a stick while the *qamchi-karud*was a whip-shaped knife. The *chaqu* was a clasp-knife. | Combat knife | Panjabis | |
| *Sailabah-i-Qalmaqi* | The name for a knife used by men from kashgar. As long as a sword and with a handle made of fish-bone called *sher-mahi* (lion-fish), it was worn slung from an *ashob* or soldier belt. | Combat Knife | Used by the men from Kashghar[20] | |

[18] Ibid., p.88

[19] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 153

[20] G.N Panth, *Studies in Indian weapons and Warfare*, p.23

Fig.7, *Khanjar* of Mughal Period.
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

Fig.8

Fig.9

Fig.10

Fig. 8, 9,&10- Showing different types of *Khanjar (Khukri)*,
Courtesy : Red Fort Museum.

Fig.11, Showing decorated Dagger knife.
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

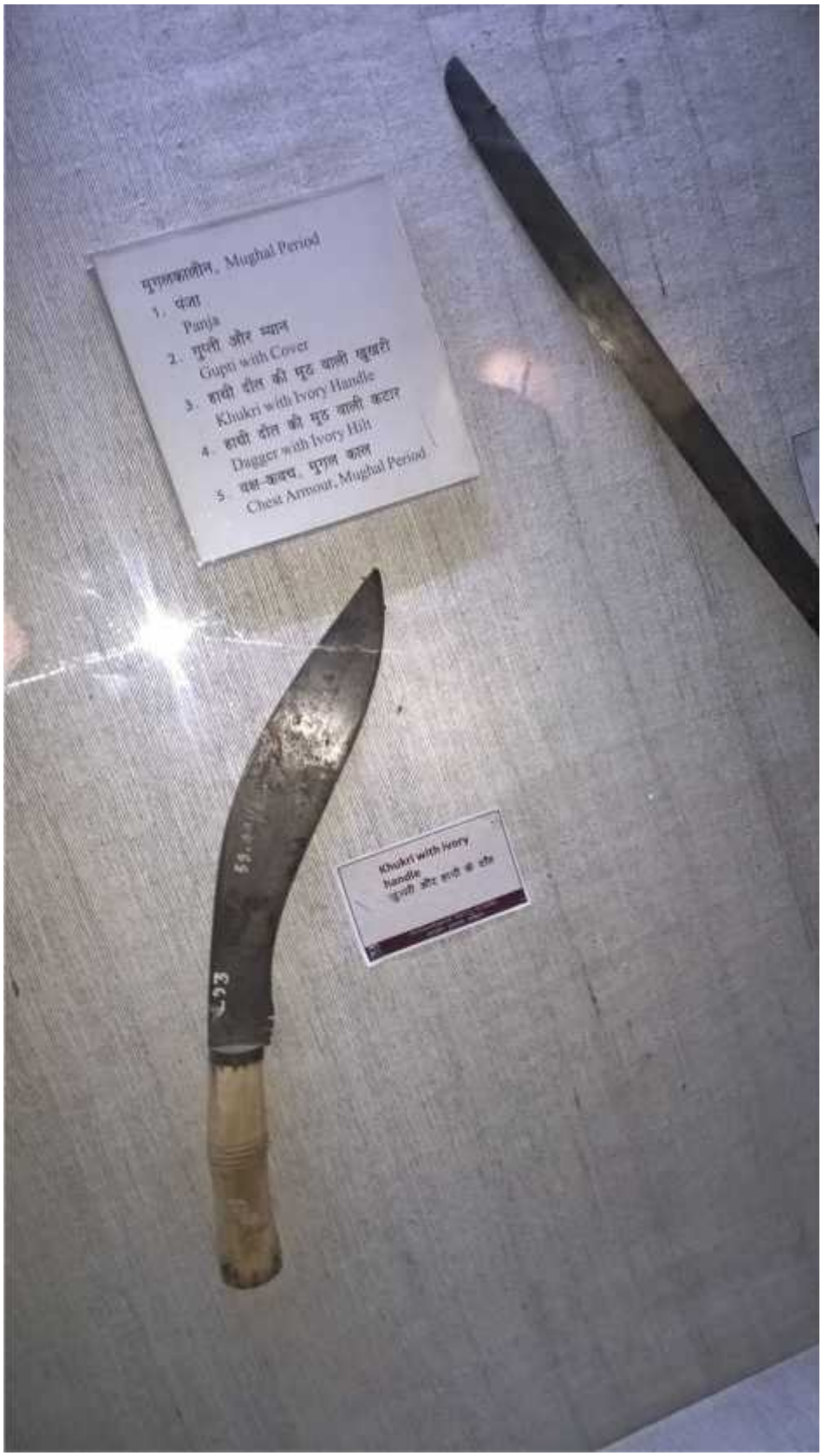


Fig.12, Showing *Khurki* with ivory Handle,
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

Mace- In between the King and the artillery marched the macebearers. Their mace generally had a knob on the round ball with sixteen ridges. The handle was cylindrical at either end and octagonal in the center.[21]

Fig.13, Mughal Mace.
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum

[21] G.N.Panth, *Studies in Indian weapons and Warfare*, p. 186

The second category was known as *Garj* or *Gurj*[22], a short-handled club with three large round balls at the end, usually formed part of the weaponry of any Mughal warrior of considerable rank. The common types of maces in the Mughal period were, the *shashbur*, or "lung-tearer", had a single round-shaped head while similar weapons included the *dhara*, *gargaj* and *khundli phansi*[23]. The 2 feet, 10 inch long *dhara* had a six-bladed head and octagonal steel shaft and came from Kolhapur[24]. The *garguz* had eight-bladed heads and basket hilts or was seven-bladed with a basket hilt[25].

**Battle-axe**-A battle-axe was also used by the Indians in their battles. The Iranian and Muslims had one with shape of crescent moon.[26]

A (*tahar*) or battle-axe had a triangular blade with one broad cutting edge. If the head was pointed and had two cutting edges, the axe was called a *zaghnol*, or "crow's beak". A double headed axe with a broad blade on one side of the handle and a pointed one on the other was styled a *tabar zaghnol*[27]. An axe with a longer handle, called *taran galah*, was also used. The shafts of the *tabar* ranged from 17 to 23 inches (430 to 580 mm) in length with a head from 5 to 6 inches (130 to 150 mm) one way and 3 to 5 inches (76 to 127 mm) the other[28]. Some heads were crescent shaped with one of the shafts hollow for storage of a dagger. A *'Basolah'* looked like a chisel while highly ornamented silver axes were carried by attendants for display in the audience hall[29].The blade is ornamented with flowers chiseled in low relief, set with turquoises and damascened in gold, partially covered with velvet.[30]

[22] Egerton of Tatton, p.115
[23] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 155
[24] Egerton of Tatton,p.115
[25] Ibid.
[26] Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p.118
[27] Raj Kumar Phul, p.158
[28] William Irvine, p. 81
[29] G.N.Panth, *Studies in Indian Weapons and Warfare, p. 188*
[30] Egerton of Tatton, p.115

Fig.14, Showing different types of Mughal Daggers,
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum

**Spears**- Spear means small blades, flexible shafts, painted green.[31]

The usual generic name used for spears of all kinds was *sinan*. The head or point was called the *sunain* and the butt the *hunain*. There were several varieties of this class of weapon. Cavalry troops generally used a lance (*nezah*) with other types of spear used by foot soldiers and guards surrounding the emperor's audience hall.[32]

| Name | Description | Usage | Material |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Nim-Nezah* | A cavalry lance with a small steel head and a long bamboo shaft carried by *nezah-bazan* (lance-wielders), this weapon featured prominently in Maratha equipment with no enemy cavalry said to be able to withstand them. In battle some 20,000 to 30,000 lances were ranged against the enemy, packed closely together so as not to leave any space between the bearer's heads. If horsemen tried to ride the lance-wielders down, the points of their spears impacted with the oncoming riders, who were then unhorsed. When used during a cavalry charge, the *nezah* struck against the enemy's weapons, making so much noise that it frightened the opponents' horses such that they turned around and bolted. In normal use, a man on horseback held his spear above his head at the full length of his arm[33]. | Mainly used by cavalry | Bamboo, steel |
| *Barchhah* | A Mughal weapon also used by the Marathas. With a head and shaft made wholly of iron or steel, use of this heavy spear was confined to infantry as it would prove too heavy for men on horseback[34]. | Infantry | Steel |
| *Sangu/ Sank* | Made entirely of iron, this spear was much shorter than the *barchhah* although some exist that are 7.11 feet (2.17 m) long, of which the head accounting for 2.6 feet (0.79 m). The weapon possessed long, slender, three or four-sided heads, steel shafts, and had a grip covered with velvet[35]. | | Iron |
| *Sainthi* | The shaft was shorter than that of the *sang*. | | |

[31]Egerton of Tatton, p.115
[32] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 157
[33] Ibid., p.156
[34] William Irvine, p. 83
[35] Ibid.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Selarah* | A spear with a head and shaft longer than those of the *sainthi* but not so long as those of the *sang*[36]. | | |
| *Ballam* | A spear, pike, or lance with barbed heads and wooden shafts and a total length of 5.11 feet (1.56 m), of which the blade took up 18 inches (460 mm). The *Ballam* was a short spear with a broad head used by infantry[37]. | Infantry | |

Other forms of spears were *gadasa*, *panjmukhi*, *pande-ballame* etc.[38]

Fig.15, Different types of Spears.
Courtesy: Red Fort Museum.

**(b) Long Range Weapon**- these were the most important long range weapons before the general use of artillery both in Asia and in Europe. Bows and arrows, matchlocks, pistols and cannons made up the four categories of missile weapons. Cavalry were mainly equipped with the bow with Mughal horsemen noted for their archery. Legend

[36] Raj Kumar Phul, p.156
[37] Egerton of Tatton, p.78
[38] Ibid.

told that the bow and arrow were brought down straight from Heaven and given to Adam by the archangel Gabriel. Personal weapons were ranked in the following order: the dagger, the sword, the spear and the soldier's with the top weapon the bow and arrow[39]. Their superiority can be estimated from a statement in a *Risala-e-Tir-o-Kaman,* which says:

"The sword is better than the dagger, the spear better than the sword, and the bow and arrow better than the spear."[40]

The bows and arrows were the main weapons of the Mughals their invent to India.

**Bows-**

Considered especially expert in the use of their weapons, Mughal horsemen armed with bows could shoot three times faster than musketeers. Archers were called *tir-andaz* (literally, arrow-throwers). During Mughal period, 'Cross-bow' was commonly used.[41]

The standard Mughal *kaman* (bow) was about 4 feet (1.2 m) long and generally shaped in a double curve with a grip covered in velvet. A bow was usually made of horns of a buffalo, wood, bamboo, ivory, and sometimes of steel[42].Bernier considered the Mughal soldiers under Shahjahan and Aurangzeb so efficient that each one of them 'could shoot six arrows before a musketeer could fire twice.[43]Usually, it was curved or beautifully painted.

- The notch - The end notches into which the string was fixed were called *goshah*, literally "corner,"
- The string - Known as either the *zih* or *chillah*, sinew (*panach* or *panchak*) was used as a bow-string. Bow strings were sometimes made of strong threads of white silk laid together to form a cylinder about 1.25 centimeters (0.49 in) in diameter. Whipping of the same material was then bound firmly round for a length of three or four inches at the center and to this middle piece large loops of scarlet or other coloured material attached by a complicated knot. These gaudy loops then formed a striking contrast to the white silk.

[39] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 158
[40]*Risala-i-Tir-o-Kaman,* cited by William Irvine, p.90
[41]G.N.Panth, *Studies in Indian Weapons and Warefare,* p.57
[42] Egerton of Tatton, p.114
[43] F.Bernier, p. 48

- The finger stall - This was called the *zihgir* or bow-string holder. A bowman drew with his thumb only, his bent forefinger pressed against one side of the arrow's "nock" (notch) to hold it in place. The forefinger was pressed on the nail of the thumb to strengthen the pull without increasing the exertion. Invention of the *zihgir* prevented the bow string tearing the flesh of the finger; it comprised a broad ring made of precious stone, crystal, jade, ivory, horn, fishbone, gold or iron in accordance with an individual's rank and means. A particularly valuable *zihgir* might form part of the plunder after a battle. Sometimes, instead of a *zihgir*, two thimbles were worn on the first and second fingers of the right hand. The topmost of these projected upwards half an inch allowing the bow string to rest on it as the bow was drawn. On the outside the ring was only half the breadth, and in loosing the arrow the archer straightened his thumb, which set the arrow free. Although use of such a ring increased the range of an arrow its use required skill and practice. These rings along with a spare string were usually carried in a small box suspended at the man's side. Hindus also used a thumb stall of leather in place of rings.[44]
- There are following some special bows are described by Egerton[45].

| Name of Bow | Description | Type | Usage | Material |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Charkh* | *Charkh* has many meanings: among them "a wheel," "a cart," or "a crossbow" but in this usage means "crossbow". A *Charkh-i-bakhshi* led the *charkh* men. | Cross bow | Used by *charkh* men | |
| *Takhsh kaman* | A type of small bow. | | | |
| *Kaman-i-gurohah* | A pellet-bow, identical to the modern *gulel*, used by boys to scare birds away from ripening crops. | | | |
| *Gobhan* | Slings such as these were brought by the villagers who assembled in 1710 to aid in the defense of Jalalabad town against the Sikhs led by *Bandah*. | Sling | Mainly used by villagers | |

[44] Raj Kumar Phul, pp.160-161
[45]Egerton of Tatton, pp.108-109

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Kamthah, kamanth* | The long bow of the *Bhils* of Central India. This group held the bow with their feet, drawing the string (*chillah*) with the hands and able to shoot with enough power for their arrow to penetrate elephant's hide. The principal weapon of the *Bhils* was the *kampti* or bamboo bow, with a string made of a thin strip from the elastic bark of the bamboo. *Bhils* carried sixty barbed arrows each a yard long in their quiver, those intended for striking fish having heads which came off the shaft on striking the fish. A long line connected the head and the shaft, so that the shaft remained on the water's surface as a float. | Long Bow | *Bhils* | Bamboo |
| *Nawak* | A pipe through which an arrow was shot, the *narak* was used for shooting birds. This was either a cross-bow, or formed in some way as part of an ordinary bow. It was not a blow-pipe like those used by the Malays for their poisoned arrows. Specimens of the pipe are 6.6 to 7.6 feet (2.0 to 2.3 m) long and use foot-long arrows. | Crossbow or pipe | Shooting birds | |
| *Tufak-i-dahan* | A blow-pipe used as a tube for shooting clay balls by force of the breath. | Blow pipe | Shooting clay balls | Pipe |

**Arrows** - an arrow was an essential part of the equipment of an archer. Arrows known as *tir* were of two types: those in common use relied on reeds for their fabrication and *tir* used against tigers had wooden shafts. Reed-based arrows used resin to attach the head while those of wood had a hole bored into their shaft into which a red-hot head was forced.[46]

An arrow with a knot at the end instead of point was known as a *takah* or *tukkah*. Arrowheads were sometimes bent into the shape of a saddle-maker's needle. Broad arrow heads were in use in the west of Bengal, towards Bihar, one type of which had a crescent shape more than four inches across at the barbs. Although such projectiles

[46] Raj Kumar Phul, op.cit., p. 161

did not penetrate easily, when they made contact with a limb they did considerable damage, particularly when discharged among bodies of troops. Arrows came in many varieties including broad-headed, two pointed and barbed. Their heads came in a diverse range of shapes: full moon, circular, crescent, almond, trident and thorn-shaped.[47]

Fig.16

[47] Ibid., pp. 161-162

Fig. 17

Fig.16 & 17: Showing Long range weapons. Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi.

**Quiver** - The Persian name is *tarkash*. It was generally a flat case, broad at the mouth, with one side straight and the other sloping to a point, and provided with a shoulder strap. This broad shape was apparently due to the fact that the quiver was used to hold the bow as well as the arrows, although a cylindrical example also exists. Nevertheless, separate bow cases known as *qirhan* were also used. Common quivers were covered with leather, more costly ones with blue or red velvet, and these were often embroidered on one side in gold or silver. A slightly different quiver case is

known, which had the same width all the way down with one side straight and the other shaped in two crescent-like curves[48].

***Paikan-Kash*** - An implement shaped like a pair of pliers used to extract arrow heads from the body. The *tir bardar* was another instrument used for the same purpose.[49]*Godhu*, it was worn on the left arm.[50]

**Target** - To improve accuracy with the bow and arrow it was usual to erect a mound of earth near an officer's tents into which he or his men shot a certain number of arrows every day. Rajputsare known to have followed this practice but it was by no means confined to them alone. In a general sense, *hadaf* was used as the word for a butt or target, or the object aimed at[51].

**Modes of shooting** - There were twelve maxims to be obeyed. Of these three required firmness: (1) the grip of the bow held tight, (2) the forefinger kept firm, (3) the advanced foot kept firm when the arrow is let fly. Three things required easiness: (1) the left side should be kept easy (2) the left foot the same, and (3) also the other fingers. Three things required straightness: (1) the body should be erect (2) the forehead held up (3) the elbow straight. Three other things had to be observed: (1) use of one side, (2) use of one eye, (3) both hands kept in one direction. An arrow could have seven faults: (1) too wide a notch, (2) the shaft to be *Kaman*(3) the head imperfect, (4) the head too heavy, (5) the top end and butt of the shaft hollow, (6) the shaft not straight, (7) the bow too stiff. In shooting at a horseman 200 yards off, the aim should be at his cap, if 100 paces off, at his mouth, if 50 paces, at his saddle. By so doing he would be hit in the chest. A good archer needed to practice constantly with the *lezam*, a bow with an iron chain instead of a string. There were three ways of gripping the bow, *Changal-i-baz* (literally, "Hawk's claw"), *muharraf*(diagonally, on the slant) and *marabba* (square), according to the length of the shooter's fingers. The arrow was meant to be held without moving, and the advanced foot kept flat on the ground[52].

[48] William Irvine, p.97
[49] Ibid.
[50] Egerton of Tatton, p.114
[51] William Irvine, p.101
[52] Ibid., pp.101-102

**Matchlock-**

Known as the *tufang*[53] or *banduq* Mughal Emperor Akbar introduced many improvements in the manufacture of the matchlock.[54]Nevertheless, up to the middle of the 18th century the weapon was looked on with less favour than the bow and arrow. The matchlock was left chiefly to the infantry, who occupied a much inferior position to that of the cavalry in the opinion of Mughul commanders. It was not until the middle of the 18th century, when the way had been shown by the French and the English, that efforts were made to improve the arms and discipline of the foot soldier[55].

The barrels of Akbar's matchlocks were of two lengths: 66 inches (1,700 mm) and 41 inches (1,000 mm). They were made of rolled strips of steel with the two edges welded together.[56]

Matchlock barrels, covered with elaborate damascened work, had their stocks adorned with embossed metal work or with various designs either in lacquer, paint, or inlays of different materials. The stocks were at times decorated with embossed and engraved mounts in gold, or the butt had an ivory or ebony cap. The barrel was generally attached to the stock by broad bands of metal or by wire made of steel, brass, silver or gold. The broad bands were sometimes of perforated design and chased. The stocks were of two designs, the first narrow, slightly sloped, and of the same width throughout and the second sharply curved and narrow at the grip, expanding to some breadth at the butt. When not in use, matchlocks were kept and carried about in covers made of scarlet or green broadcloth.

- Parah - The hammer of the matchlock.
- The match- The name in Persian was either *jamagi* or *fahtah*. The match was ready and lighted.
- Powder horn etc. - These accoutrements were collectively called *kamr*. The set consisted of a powder flask, bullet pouches, priming horn (*singra*), matchcord, flint and steel with the whole ensemble attached to a belt often made of velvet embroidered in gold. The receptacles which contained powder and musket balls

[53] Steingass, p.314
[54]AbulFazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p.113
[55] William Irvine, p. 103
[56] Egerton, p.83

were unwieldy, and as the Mughal troops never used cartridges for their pieces, they were slow to load. Some soldiers carried more than twenty yards of match about their person, similar in appearance to a large ball of pack-thread.[57]

- Blank cartridge - *khali-goli*.
- Cailletoque - A strange very long and heavy matchlock. This musket was often carried under the arm.
- Jazail or Jazair - A wall-piece or swivel gun falling somewhere between a firearm as carried by combatants and a piece of artillery and having features of both. The usual length of *jazails* was 7 to 8 feet (2.1 to 2.4 m). This long matchlock of varying calibre was used as a wall-piece by the natives of India, commonly fixed on swivels, and firing iron balls not of about 1 pound (0.45 kg) in weight. In the field, they were sometimes carried on the backs of camels. The ball of the Indian *jazail* weighed two or more ounces. *Jinjalls*, or heavy matchlocks were commonly used for the defense of forts. They carried a ball from one to three ounces in weight. They had very substantial barrels, were too heavy to use without a break. Many had an iron prong of about a foot in length, fixed on a pivot not far from the nozzle. Placed on a wall, a bush, or the ground, this served as a support. In the defense of mud forts, especially in Bundelkhand, the besieged exhibited extraordinary dexterity, rarely failing to hit their object either in the head or near the heart, even at great distances. All firearms used by Indians had small cylindrical chambers, and being mostly of a small bore, considerable impetus was imparted to the ball.[58]

  Ghor-dahan was a kind of *jazail*. The allusion in the name seems to be to the averted or widened mouth of the barrel.

  **Qidr** - This may be a cauldron, pot, kettle[59].

  **Pistols**- These weapons came in use in the reign of Aurangzeb. A common pistol was also called *Tamancha.*[60]

[57] Ibid.
[58] William Irvin, p.105
[59] Egerton, p.83
[60] Raj Kumar Phul, p.158

Fig.18: Showing different types of Matchlocks and pistols.
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi

**(2) Defensive Weapons-**

Fig.19: Courtesy: Red Fort Museum, New Delhi

**Armour**- The study of Mughal Armour is interesting both the part they played in shaping history on the technical side, for the way they evolved applied art. The subject has been studied from the surviving examples of armour that have come down to us and are preserved in the Museum and Paintings of Mughal India. All Mughal Soldiers had more or less common articles of equipment, both for defensive and offensive purposes. Every trooper was different pieces of armour for protecting himself from being wounded by a sword, a bow, a javelin, or any other weapon.[61]We did not find any changes in the armours during Shahjahan's reign.

All Mughal Soldiers had more or less common articles of equipment, both for defensive and offensive purposes. Every trooper had different pieces of armour for protecting himself from being wounded by a sword, a bow, a javelin, or any other weapon.[62]

The different pieces of armour prevalent during the Mughal Period were:

[61] G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue,* National Museum New Delhi, 2001, p.7

[62] G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue,* National Museum New Delhi, 2001, p.7, Egerton of Tatton, *A Description of Indian and Oriental Armour,* waterloo place,1896, p.23

**Head Pieces**- Head, the most prominent of vulnerable organs, had to be protected well. In the battles fought, big or small, some kind of defense for the head was invariably used. It was called

Helmets (*Khud*)[63]. There were different types of helmets used in the Mughal Period.

***Khogi***[64]- A helmet made of Damascus steel, surmounted by one central plume holder. The movable nasal protector with two terminals is flanked by two plume holders. The border, the plume-holders and the nasal are all damascened in gold with floral and creeper designs. The camail( a guard of mail for the sides, neck and the shoulder) of interlinked chain nail hangs up to the shoulder is decorated in diamond pattern. It is attached to the edges for the protection of neck and shoulders. The inner padding of red velvet is stuffed with cotton wool[65].

***Kullah-i-Zirah***- A helmet of interlinked double chain mail in one piece for the protection of head, face, neck and shoulders of the warriors. It also covered the back of the head. Inner padding of cloth is stuffed with cotton.[66] It is made of small slightly curved steel plates connected by mail and surmounted by a three tiered circular applied plate. Long camail is similarly made of small metallic plates. A moveable nasal guard with screw to adjust the elongated spear shaped protector; upper end of which is turned out ward. Cheek and neck-guard are similarly made.

***Mighfar***- It is made of iron. A long piece of mail hanging down from helmet over the neck and back. It was also called *Zirah-i-Kotah*.[67]

We can see in the pictures, there were several designs of Helmets are represented in the pictures: Dome- shaped, conical or oval shaped, which used during the Mughal period.

[63]G.N.Panth, *Indian Arms and Armours*, vol.III, p.47
[64]AbulFazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*,vol.I, p.118
[65] National Museum, New Delhi, Janpath
[66] G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue*, p.41
[67]*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p. 545

Fig. 20, Several Designs of Helmets,
courtesy: Nationat Museum, New Delhi

**Shields**- Shields are probably the earliest means of defense and have been used longer than history records. They had been made of all sorts of materials: wood, leather, wicker work, metals, cloth and even turtle shells. The shields were mainly in circular shape[68]. Shields are excellent examples of fine artistic workmanship. These were painted all over and the minute details have been executed with great skills.[69] Carried on the left arm, or when out of use, slung over the shoulder, shields were made of steel or hide and were generally from 17 to 24 inches (430 to 610 mm) in diameter. If made of steel they were often highly ornamented with patterns in gold damascening while hide shields bore silver or gold bosses, crescents, or stars. Shields were made of sambar deer, buffalo, nilgau, Elephant, or rhinoceros hide, the last being the most highly prized. Brahmans, who objected to leather, had shields made from forty or fifty folds of silk painted red and ornamented. The curious snake skin (*nagphanl*) shield is not a Mughal weapon[70].

- *Chirwah* and *Tilwah* — these shields were carried by the *shamsherbaz*.
- Fencing Shields — Small circular shields of cane or bamboo sometimes called *Dhal* because their shape resembled a lentil.[71]

There are several references for the use of shields in the *Baburnama.* Although the exact material of which theses shields were made is not clearly recorded.

[68]G.N.Panth, *Indian Arms and Armours*, vol.III, p. 71
[69] Raj Kumar Phul, p.150
[70] Op.cit., p.85
[71] Raj Kumar Phul, p. 151

Fig. 21, Several Designs of Mughal Shields,
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi.

**Body-Armour-** chest and back are vital organs were properly protected. A number of protective covering were designed. The common soldier was satisfied with fabric armour such as a quilted coat since it was comparatively cheap and easily available. Leather was used occasionally. A shirt of chain mail or a set of plates to cover the front back, back and sides, were the most popular form of defense. The miniature paintings of the medieval period seldom depict mail shirts; it is possible that these were worn under other garments. The extensive froging apparent down the fronts of many such garments does suggest a heavy construction that needed external support.[72]

A few significant variants of the body armour in Mughal India are as follows:

***Bukhtar-*** It was a typical Perso-Indian armour called *Zirih-i-Bukhtar,* was a coat of mail or a cuirass made either of steel or some times of chains or *zirah*. If it was worn like a shirt, it was termed *Zirihkurta*. It was long enough to protect a soldier up to the knee. The ones used by the horse riders were shorter; they rested a little below the waist and were made with a cut in the lower part of the back. In the collection of

[72]Op.cit., p. 21

National Museum, New Delhi, is a coat of mail, each link of which is inscribed with the name of Allah[73].

Fig. 22, Coat of Mail
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi.

***Char-Ainah***- it was the most popular form of armour and was widely used throughout. The word *char-Ainah* literally means 'four Mirrors', consisting of four pieces, a breastplate, a back plate, and with two smaller pieces for the sides connected by leather straps. It was tied round the chest and back. *Char-Ainah* was worn over a *Zirah*[74].The plates were usually rectangular and those worn on the back and the breast were considerably larger than those worn on the sides. The side plates were cut away in the top to facilitate their fitting under the respective arm-pits and to allow free movement of the hands. In case the chest plate was usually long, I was also cut away

[73]G.N.Panth, *Indian Arms and Armours*, vol.III, p.111
[74]Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the Great Mughals,* p.138; G.N.Panth, *Indian Arms and Armours*, vol.III, p.115

at the top so that it could be conveniently fitted under the neck.[75] The front and back plates had usually six straps, two on top and the side plates had four. The outer side of the plates were engraved, chiseled, embossed or damascened in gold with floral and creeper motifs, or inscribed with verses from the Holy Quran. The surface of some of the plates are decorated with *koftgari* work.[76]

The average height of the front and back plate was 15 inches and that of the sides was 10 inches. The inner side was lined with velvet. These types of plates are available in the National Museum of New Delhi.

***Zirah***[77]- was a coat of mail with sleeves composed of steel links, and long enough to reach the knees. Generally, fish –scales armour, *bukhtar* and *char-ainah* was worn over a *zirah*. Completely of quilted fabric.The*zirah* also available in the National Museum, New Delhi.

Fig. 23, Armour for Back and Breast
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi.

[75] G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue*,p.22
[76] Ibid.
[77]*Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, op.cit.,p.118

Fig. 24, Breast Plates
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi.

**Breast-plate**- as the name reveals it was a protective covering for the chest, made sometimes of a single plate or a set of plates. It reached from the neck to the waist and covered the entire chest.

***Angarakha*-** it was a long coat worn over an armour, a super coat. It was opened in front and reached below the knee.

**Armour for the other part of the Body-**

**Neck- Guard**- during Mughals, an exclusive armour for the neck, i.e. the *gorget* was used. It consisted of long plates that covered the shoulders and upper part of the back, with a protective flange that guarded the back and side of the neck. It is called *kantha* and *shobha*[78].

**Shoulder Guard-** as a rule no separate armour for shoulder was needed. The camail of the helmet that fell over both the shoulders provided additional protection. However, in *chiltahazarmasha (*coat of thousand nails), separated detachable guards were used. Two examples displayed in the National Museum, New Delhi, are made of leather, covered with red velvet and lined with quilted *kimkhab*[79].

[78] G. C. Stone, *A Glossary of construction, Decoration and use of Arms and Armours*, Portland, Maine, 1914, p.250
[79]G.N.Panth, *Indian Arms and Armours*, vol.III, p.145

**Arm Guard-** several varieties of arm guard were used, the most favourite seems to be *Bazuband*, it comprised two parts, the one covering the portion from the elbow to the knuckle was a curved plate, half open. Lower part covering the wrist and the hand upto four inches. These were heavily padded and attached with the hand plate in such a manner that free movement of the hand was not restricted[80].

***Dastana*-** it is shorter than to *bazuband*, it covered only the knuckle, the wrist and the hand.

**Waist-Protector-** it is also called *Mekhala*[81], it was in various shapes were worn both as an ornament and also as a part of the costume. Sometimes a waist belt of steel was used.

**Leg-Guards-** boots, shoes, sandals of leather used the warriors. *Mozah-e-Ahani*[82]as used for iron stockings meant for the protection of legs. For the exclusive defense of thighs and knees, a special kind of armour called 'cuisses' was used, which comprised a dome-shaped metal knee cap attached to an armour made of small plates and mail. Separate knee caps were also used. *Rak*, a long boot, *Ranak*, a greave extended from thighs to skin, was made of one or more pieces of metal. A number of *ranaks*are depicted in the miniature paintings of the Mughal School.

**Ear-Armour-** A pair of ear armour made of curved steel plates oblong, with serrated edges. The borders are damascened in gold with creeper motifs and the centrewith a floral motifs. The rest of the field is plain.

[80] G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue*, p.26
[81] Ibid.
[82] *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol.I, p.119, cited by S. P. Verma, *Art and Material Culture in the Paintings of Akbar's court*, New Delhi,1978, p.56

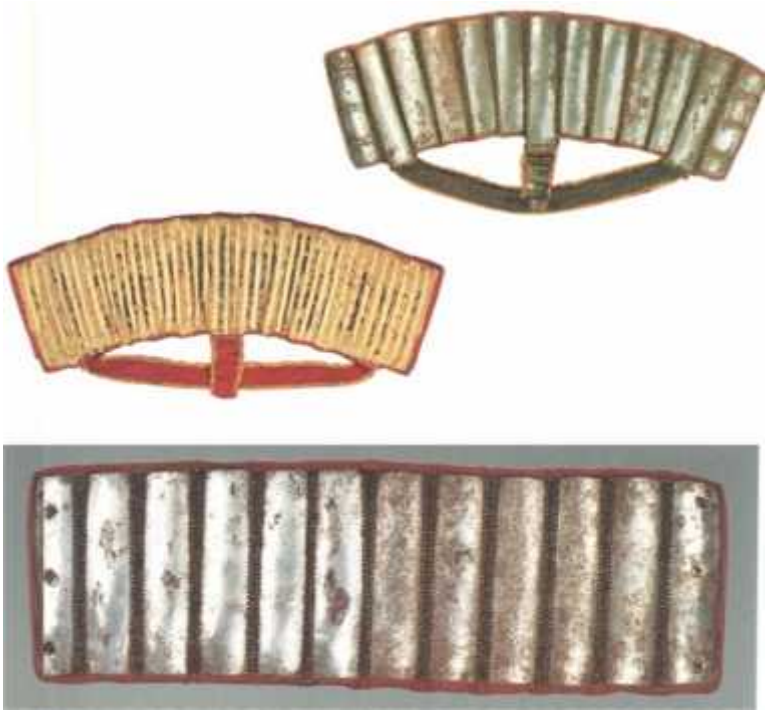

Fig. 25, Mughal Waist- Protector (*Mekhala*)
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi

Fig. 26, Mughal *Bazuband* (Arm-guard)
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi

Fig. 27, Mughal Ear Armour
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi

Fig. 28, Mughal *Dastana* (Hanguard)
Courtesy: National Museum New Delhi

**Animal Armour**- the term horse or elephant furniture includes harness trappings and armour. The harness as a rule, includes both the protective armour and the decorative trappings. The word armour denotes only the defensive covering intended to protect the horse or elephant.[83]

The warrior depended a lot upon his horse or elephant in active warfare, which made it necessary that the war animal properly harnessed and armoured.

**Horse Armour -** The defensive equipment of the horses consisted of the following pieces-

***Zin* or Saddle**- placed on the back, the saddles were fastened with one or more broad straps crossing the horse's chest and tied to the saddle to keep it from the slipping back. The wooden frame which fitted very well with the back was padded with felt and cotton rolls and covered with costly cloth, embroidered tastefully. Ornamental tassels, several in number, attached to the corner of the saddle, were called *shikharband.*[84]

***Rikab*** or **Stirrup**- these were made of metal, generally it was a U shaped piece with a flat base. Foot-rest made of leather is available but generally they were made of iron.[85]

***Qashqa* or Chanfron**- also known as frontlet or frontale, *qashqa* was the armour for the face of the horse. It was a simple steel plate molded into the shape of the front part of the horse.[86]

***Gardani***[87] or Crinet- was used for the neck-piece of horse. It was made of iron plates and chains hinged together. Other pieces of equipment were-

***Cuello***- The underside of the horse's neck was protected by cuello.[88]

***Lagam* or Bridle**- the gait of the Horse controlled by the bidle. Reins also called *rashmi* or *Inam.* TabarZin a special weapon was used to cut the bridle of the enemy's horse. *Balabandha* or tail-piece, this was used to protect the tail of the horse and many other equipments were used to protect the war horses. The horse trapping was

[83]G.N.Pant, *Horse and Elphant Armour*, p.1
[84]Op.cit., p.32
[85]G.N.Pant, *Horse and Elphant Armour*, p.51
[86]G.N.Pant, *Horse and Elephant Armour*, p.49
[87] Ibid., p.51
[88] Ibid.,p.51

generally adorned with silver or gold or jewels. When so enriched they were called *saz-i-marassa.*[89]

**Equipment of the Elephant**- *Howdah*-on the back of the elephant was fastened a wooden *Howdah.* The howdah was a square and was large enough to accommodate four to six soldiers, made of wooden planks, covered with metal plates. The warriors could sit comfortably, could see the battle ground clearly from a height without being practically seen and were protected.

***Pakhar*** or **Trunk Protector**- it was vial and prominent organ of an elephant, had to be protected well. It was protected both the fore head and trunk, were made of small plates usually embellished with embossed floral and geometrical designs.[90]

**Tusk Protector**- it was common practice to protect the tusks of the elephant. Eye protector- it was a piece of canvas about one and a half square yards. It was made of brocade, velvet, etc. Ear protector also used, made of fabric or leather, shaped like huge fans.[91]

**Body Armour**- a huge covering over the elephant's back. It was made of fabric or leather.

***Tayya***[92]- consisted of five iron plates, each a span long and four fingers broad, fastened to each other by rings. On both side of *Tayya*, there were two chains, each a yard long, one of which passed from above the ear and other from below it to the *kilwa*, to which both were attached. Between them there was another chain, which was passed over the head, and was tied to the *kilwa*. Below crossways, there were four iron spikes ending in a curve, and covered with knobs. This was partly for ornamentation and partly to frighten the enemy.[93]

On ceremonial occasions the elephant was given a touch of royalty and decorated with ornaments i.e. *chanda*, *Dharma*, *andu*, *beri*, anklets of the feet etc. The *Mahuat* (Elephant driver) carried with him an elephant-goad and other weapons.[94]

The mules and the camels were employed as transport animals, on the battle-field. They were also used different equipment.

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[89] G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue,* p.33
[90]G.N.Pant, *Horse and Elephant Armour,* p.109
[91] Ibid.,p.111
[92]*Ain-i-Akbari,* vol.I, p.133,G.N.Pant, *Horse and Elephant Armour,* p.115
[93] Raj Kumar Phul, *Armies of the great Mughals*, p.144, G.N. Panth and K.K.Sharma, *Indian Armours in the National Museum Collection-A Catalogue*,p.30
[94] Ibid.

To conclude, we can say that the equipment of the Mughal soldiers  very protective and fully decorated. Only minor changes in the designs, decoration, techniques and metal during the whole Mughal period were noticed. The Mughal warriors are generally shown well armoured. The metallic armour of a soldier consisted of five or six pieces including a helmet, a coat of mail, arm-guards, leg-guards and sometimes *char-Ainah* (the four metallic plates fastened on the chest, back, right side and left side).

# CONCLUSION

Like other medieval dynasties, the Mughal Empire was a war state governed by an aggressive martial ethos with stress on war strategy and military organization. On line of the earlier Mughal rulers, Shahjahan continued the established military system and maintained its vigour and vitality in its outward appearance. Right from his accession, his troops were routinely engaged in aggressive campaigns against dynastic enemies and domestic rebels.in course of conquests, he conquered many places and inflicted crushing defeat on Portuguese at Hugli in 1632, annexed Daulatabad in 1633, and exacted tributes from the Deccan states of Bijapur and Golkunda in 1636. In spite of these brilliant victories, Shahjahan's army sustained a number of defeats, thus failed to recapture Qandahar from the Iranians in 1649, 1652, and 1653 respectively.

Indeed, considerable proportion of state's resources have been exhausted in preparation of war. Almost every year of his reign, the Mughal troops have been engaged in active campaigns either against foreign rulers or in suppressing the domestic rebels. However, Shahjahan's high profile campaign against Balkh and Badakhsha exhausted the treasury. Computation reveals that Shahjahan spent four crore in this Central Asian expedition, while, in return, realized only 22 ½ lacs revenue from the said territory. Politically, also this expedition was proved futile since no part of the territory of Balkh had been annexed, nor it was a dynastic change, even neither the ruler of Balkh was replaced. Militarily, too, this expedition resulted in utter destruction since five hundred soldiers fell in the battle and ten times of that numbers, including camp followers, were terribly perished. Likewise three sieges of Qandahar cost the imperial treasury near about twelve crore rupees without gaining territorial space. Indeed, those were the ill-planned and ill-organized campaigns which resulted in considerable loss of resources and military prestige.

Besides Central Asian (Balkh and Badakhshan), Qandahar (Afghanistan), and South Indian (Deccan) expeditions, Shahjahan confronted with four major and many minor rebellions during his reign.

Apart of the rebellions leaders were Hindu chiefs, while one by Lodi Afghans. However, it is worth mentioning that the rebellion of the Bundella chief Jujhar Singh resembles in many respects to that of Lodi chief Khan-i-Jahan.

Right from Akbar's time, the Rajputs continued to predominate among the Hindu nobles. Jahangir did not appoint any Rajput as provincial governors after Man Singh. However, Shahjahan deviated from his father's policy and appointed Jai Singh, Jaswant Singh and Raja Bithal Das Gaur as governors of Agra and Ajmer respectively. Thus Rajputs held important posts, high and low ranks in military, under Shajahan. The Emperor relied much on Rajput contingent and gave them commands to the Rajput chiefs in Balkh and Badakhshan, Qandahar and Deccan expeditions. Raja Gaj Singh was made commander of the army to crush the rebellion of Khan-i-Jahan Lodi. Thus, one may conclude that Shahjahan had a mixed contingent consisting of the Rajputs, Mughals and others.

Arguments go in favour of complicated financial situation at the time of Shahjahan's accession. Thus Shahjahan made some changes in the *mansabdari* system and reduced the salary of both *zat* and *sawar* ranks. Jahangir was the first Mughal emperor who introduced the *do-aspa si aspa (*2-3 horses) rank. Consequently, the *do-aspa si aspa* rank holder managing the double number of *sawars* and accordingly received the payment. Thus, a large contingent have been maintained without exchanging the *zat* rank. Shahjahan combined the *do-aspa si aspa* rate with other measures. Now maintenance of *sawar* ranks by the *mansabdars* varied from region to region, i.e. one-third in north India, while one-fifth in the Deccan. Conclusively, in view of Satish Chandra, "a *mansabdar* of 2000/2000 (1000 *do-aspa si aspa)* would muster ordinary 1000 x 1/4 = 250 *sawars* and of the 1000 *do-aspa si aspa* at double of that, i.e. 500 making a total of 750 *sawars."* Indeed, it was an innovation on part of Shahjahan . It fixed the position of every military leader in the official hierarchy and created a feeling of devotion for the sovereign.

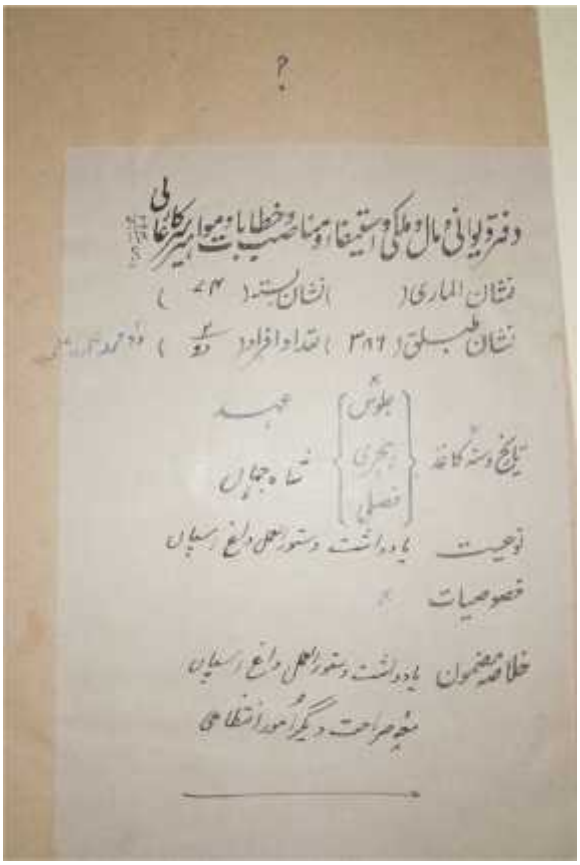
The paucity of vital military details in contemporary accounts tends to hinder the elaborate explanation of Shahjahan's strategy and tactics. The sources remain destitute of details regarding the battle formation, positioning of armies, numerical break up of wings as well as the topography. Despite of short comings, Shahjahan's policy of dividing the army in five divisions: Cavalry, infantry, Elephantry, Artillery, and navy enhanced efficiency of military organization. Among them, the weaker machinery of military system was navy. Shahjahan made no positive efforts to strengthen the naval power. The navel administrative organization, in continuity, have still been headed by *Mir Bakhshi*. Cavalry and Elephantry have been the main

war institutions under Shahjahan with no significant advancement in military technology.

Comparatively, however, artillery made progress in form of *Topkhana* under the supervision of *Mir Atish* (*Darogha-i-Topkhana).* The heavy artillery comprised cannon, while muskets and guns come under light artillery. The higher officials in *Jinsi Topkhana* comprised the Europeans, while the post of Supervisors have been filled by the Indian Christians. The emperor, probably, felt that Europeans had better understanding of gun casting and techniques, but the Europeans betrayed the emperor on account of their inability as well as by conscious effort of the trading companies to restrain the mechanics. Shahjahan also recruited several gunners from Deccan owing efficiency of the *Deccani* artillerymen. Thus, when in 1646 Shahjahan dispatched a large army under Prince Murad to Kabul, those army consisted of 50,000 horse and 10,000 footmen including musketeers, rocketeers and gunners, and a contingent of Rajputs. It clearly indicates the numerical strength of the army, the ratio of cavalry and infantry, involvement of Rajputs contingent as well as importance of artillery in Shahjahan's military organization.

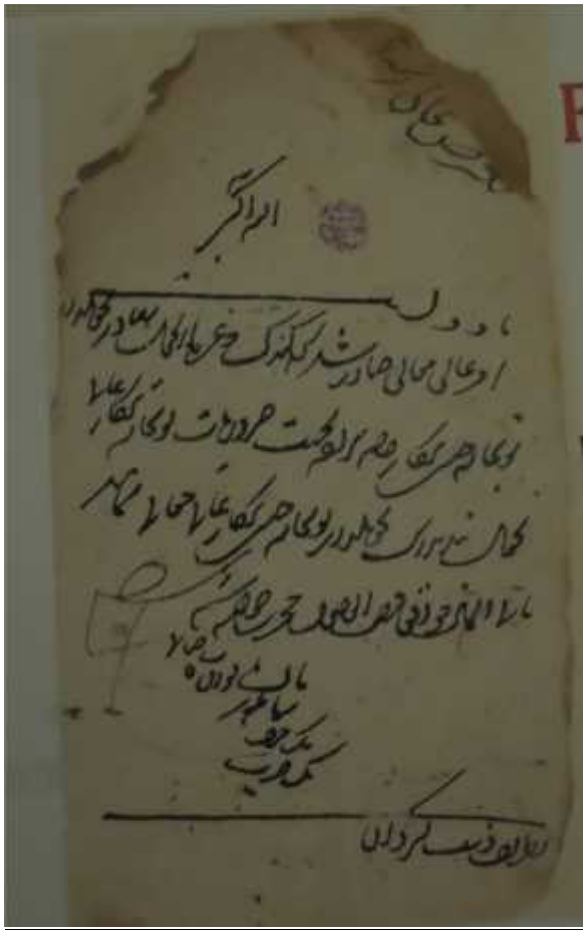
## Appendix - I

These document represented from the *subah* of the Deccan (Daulatabad) that the work of recording *chehra* and branding Dagh was assigned to the *Topchis* accompanying the *Darogha* . Courtesy: Mughal Records, Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad.



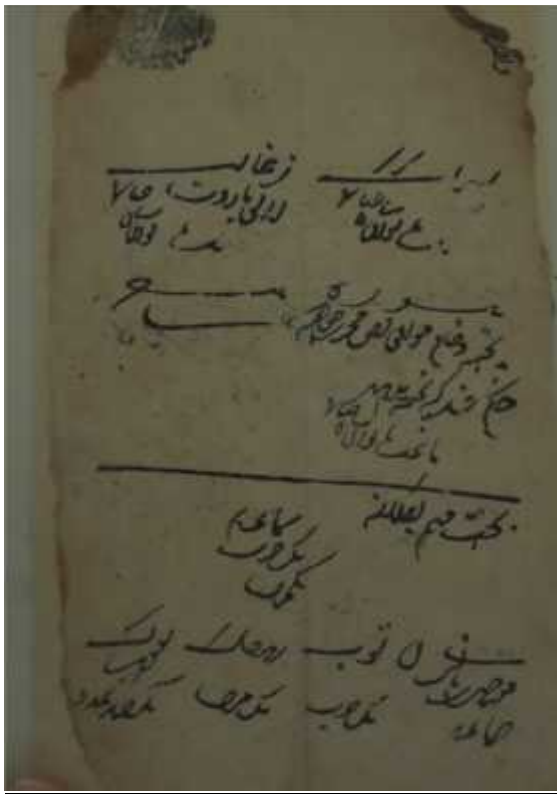
## Appendix - 2

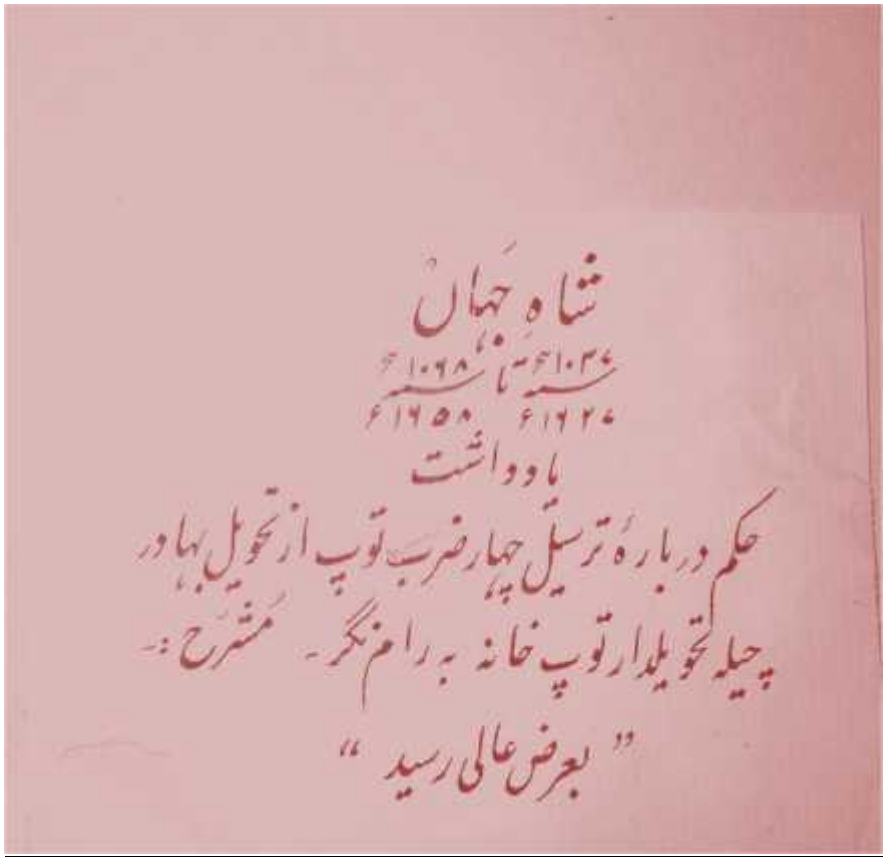
An endorsed memorandum regarding the Emperor's order for the transfer of gunpowder etc. from Bahadur, officer incharge, artillery, Imperial household, to Bundi Das, officer incharge Royal Artillery at the time of the Battle of Baklana. Courtesy: Mughal Records, Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad



## Appendix - 3

Orders for sending 4 guns, from the custody of Bahadur Chaila , *Thavildar-i-Topkhana* (officer-in-charge of the artillery) to Ram Nagar, bearing the endorsement submitted to Royal matter.
Courtesy: Mughal Records, Andhra Pradesh State Archives, Hyderabad

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سنہ ۱۰۳۷ھ تا ۱۰۶۸ھ
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یادداشت
حکم دربارۂ ترسیل چہار ضرب توپ از تحویل بہادر
چیلہ تحویلدار توپ خانہ بہ رام نگر۔ مشرح :-
"بعرض عالی رسید"

## Appendix-4

Painting shows the end of the rebellious Jujhar Singh and his son Bikramajit as well as several of their followers. In spite of having been pursued by more than twenty thousand cavalry soldiers, they had managed to evade their Mughal pursuers, but were finally killed by a tribe of Gonds in January 1636. The text tells us that when Khan Dawran heard this news, he 'rode to where the traitors' bodies were, and ordered their heads, which were beehives of sedition and corruption, severed from their bodies.' It is this moment that is captured in the foreground of the illustration.

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